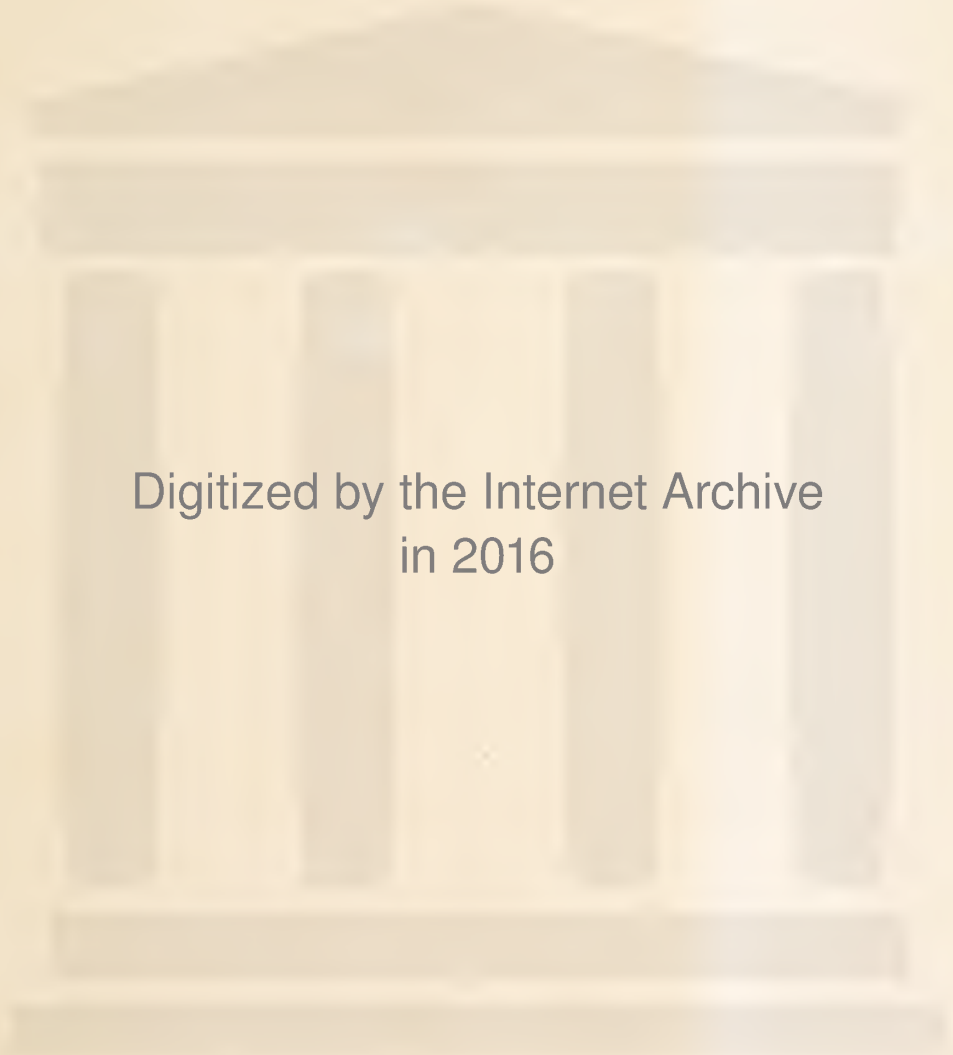


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Historical Portraits

1700-1850

The Lives by C. R. L. Fletcher

Formerly Fellow of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges

The Portraits chosen by Emery Walker

Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries

With an Introduction by

C. F. Bell

Part I (Vol. III of the Series) 1700-1800

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CONTENTS

PART I

	PAGE		PAGE
George I	I	Frederick Louis, Prince of	
James Stanhope, first Earl		Wales	62
Stanhope	4	Richard Nash	64
Charles Townshend, second		Horatio Walpole, first Baron	
Viscount Townshend	6	Walpole	65
Charles Spencer, third Earl of		Charles Townshend	66
Sunderland	8	James Wolfe	67
William Pulteney, Earl of Bath	9	William Augustus, Duke of	
Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrews-		Cumberland	70
bury	11	John Manners, Marquis of	
William Paterson	13	Granby	74
James Ogilvy, first Earl of Sea-		William Cadogan, first Earl	
field	14	Cadogan	75
Duncan Forbes	15	George Wade	76
Andrew Fletcher	17	George Byng, Viscount Tor-	
Francis Cherry	20	rington	78
William Dampier	22	Edward Boscawen	79
William Penn	24	George Frederick Handel	80
George Whitefield	27	Richard Bentley	84
Sir Isaac Newton	29	James Thomson	86
Edmund Halley	34	Francis Atterbury	89
George Berkeley	36	Joseph Butler	91
Alexander Pope	39	Benjamin Hoadly	94
William Congreve	43	William Warburton	95
Henry Fielding	44	George II	96
John Gay	46	Queen Caroline	100
John Arbuthnot	47	John Carteret, Earl Granville	103
Samuel Richardson	49	George Grenville	106
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	50	Frederick North, second Earl	
Robert Walpole, first Earl of		of Guilford	107
Orford	52	John Russell, fourth Duke	
Henry Pelham	58	of Bedford	110
Thomas Pelham Holles, first		George Lyttelton, first Baron	
Duke of Newcastle	60	Lyttelton	111

	PAGE		PAGE
Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield .	112	Augustus Keppel, first Vis- count Keppel	192
Richard Grenville-Temple, Earl Temple	115	George Brydges Rodney, first Baron Rodney	194
Prince James Francis Edward .	117	Sir Edward Hughes	197
Prince Charles Edward	122	Sir Henry Clinton	198
John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar	125	Henry Seymour Conway	199
George Keith, tenth Earl Marischal	127	Richard Howe, Earl Howe . . .	201
Simon Fraser, twelfth Baron Lovat	129	William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham	204
Flora Macdonald	131	Edmund Burke	210
William Hogarth	133	Adam Smith	216
Oliver Goldsmith	137	John Wilkes	219
Samuel Johnson	141	William Murray, first Earl of Mansfield	222
Laurence Sterne	146	Charles Pratt, first Earl Camden	225
Tobias Smollett	149	Sir William Blackstone	226
Henry Fox, first Baron Hol- land	152	Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rock- ingham	228
David Garrick	153	John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich	229
David Hume	155	John Stuart, third Earl of Bute	230
John Wesley	159	Edward Gibbon	232
Isaac Watts	163	Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford	236
Charles Wesley	164	Robert Burns	238
Thomas Warton	165	Thomas Gray	243
James Boswell	167	William Cowper	246
Robert Clive, Baron Clive . . .	170	John Hunter	249
John Ligonier, first Earl Ligonier	175	Robert Dodsley	250
Sir Charles Saunders	176	Josiah Wedgwood	252
James Cook	178	James Brindley	253
Edward Hawke, first Baron Hawke	181	Sir Richard Arkwright	256
George Anson, Baron Anson . .	184	Sir Joshua Reynolds	257
Sir Eyre Coote	186	Thomas Gainsborough	261
Lord George Sackville Ger- main, first Viscount Sackville .	187	George Romney	264
Lord Edward Fitzgerald	189	Jeffrey Amherst, Baron Am- herst	266
George Augustus Eliott, first Baron Heathfield	190	Sir Ralph Abercromby	267

CONTENTS

vii

PART II

	PAGE		PAGE
Horatio Nelson, Viscount Nelson	1	Sir Philip Francis	77
Adam Duncan, Viscount Duncan	7	Sir Francis Burdett	79
Charles Middleton, first Baron Barham	9	George III	80
Samuel Hood, first Viscount Hood	10	Queen Charlotte Sophia	85
Alexander Hood, first Viscount Bridport	11	Princess Charlotte Augusta	86
Charles Cornwallis, second Earl Cornwallis	13	Frederick Augustus, Duke of York	88
Charles James Fox	16	Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent and Strathearn	91
William Pitt	22	Queen Caroline	92
✓ William Petty, first Marquis of Lansdowne	27	Queen Adelaide	94
Spencer Perceval	30	Jane Austen	95
Henry Benedict, Cardinal York	33	Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire	97
Richard Porson	34	Emma, Lady Hamilton	97
Sir John Moore	37	Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope	99
Sir Thomas Picton	42	Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland	100
Sir David Baird	44	Warren Hastings	102
Sir Banastre Tarleton	47	James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury	107
Cuthbert Collingwood, first Baron Collingwood	48	Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquis of Hastings	108
Mungo Park	49	Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto	111
Edward Pellew, first Viscount Exmouth	51	Edward Law, first Baron Ellenborough	112
Sir Thomas Troubridge	53	Sir Home Riggs Popham	113
Sir William Cornwallis	54	Sir William Sidney Smith	115
George Keith Elphinstone	55	Robert Stewart, second Marquis of Londonderry	116
Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy	57	John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent	123
William Windham	58	John Keats	126
Richard Brinsley Sheridan	61	Percy Bysshe Shelley	131
Sir Samuel Romilly	63	George Gordon Byron, sixth Baron Byron	136
John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare	65	Sir Henry Raeburn	140
Edward Thurlow, first Baron Thurlow	67	William Blake	145
Thomas Erskine, first Baron Erskine	69	Thomas Bewick	147
Charles Abbott, first Baron Tenterden	71	Thomas Girtin	149
Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond	72	George Morland	150
Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville	73	Francesco Bartolozzi	151
		James Gillray	153
		Sir Humphry Davy	154
		James Watt	157

	PAGE		PAGE
George Stephenson . . .	159	Henry Addington, first Vis-	
Sir Joseph Banks . . .	161	count Sidmouth . . .	244
Edward Jenner . . .	162	Richard Colley Wellesley,	
Joseph Priestley . . .	163	Marquis Wellesley . . .	246
John Rennie . . .	165	Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of	
Sir William Herschel . . .	166	Wellington . . .	251
Thomas Telford . . .	167	Rowland Hill, first Viscount	
George Canning . . .	168	Hill . . .	259
Robert Banks Jenkinson, second		Thomas Graham, Baron	
Earl of Liverpool . . .	173	Lynedoch . . .	261
George IV . . .	177	John George Lambton, first	
William Wyndham Grenville,		Earl of Durham . . .	263
Baron Grenville . . .	180	Thomas Chalmers . . .	265
Charles Grey, second Earl Grey	183	William Cobbett . . .	270
Sarah Siddons . . .	185	Thomas William Coke, first	
Edmund Kean . . .	188	Earl of Leicester . . .	273
Sir Walter Scott . . .	190	Sir John Franklin . . .	274
John Constable . . .	196	William Wordsworth . . .	278
John Flaxman . . .	200	Samuel Taylor Coleridge . . .	283
Sir Thomas Lawrence . . .	202	Robert Southey . . .	288
Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey . . .	204	Charles Lamb . . .	291
Peter de Wint . . .	206	Maria Edgeworth . . .	294
William IV . . .	207	George Crabbe . . .	295
John Scott, first Earl of Eldon	210	Winthrop Mackworth Praed . . .	297
William Scott, Lord Stowell . . .	210	Thomas Campbell . . .	298
John Charles Spencer, third		Thomas Hood . . .	299
Earl Spencer . . .	215	Frances Burney, Madame	
William Lamb, second Vis-		d'Arblay . . .	300
count Melbourne . . .	218	John Hookham Frere . . .	303
Sir Robert Peel . . .	222	Frederick Marryat . . .	304
Henry Grattan . . .	228	Francis Jeffrey, Lord Jeffrey . . .	305
Daniel O'Connell . . .	230	Reginald Heber . . .	307
William Henry Cavendish-		Jeremy Bentham . . .	308
Bentinck, third Duke of		Sir James Mackintosh . . .	311
Portland . . .	235	Sydney Smith . . .	312
Lord George Bentinck . . .	236	William Wilberforce . . .	314
William Eden, first Baron		Thomas Arnold . . .	316
Auckland . . .	237	Elizabeth Fry . . .	318
George Eden, first Earl of		Hannah More . . .	319
Auckland . . .	239	Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles	320
Charles Abbot, first Baron		George O'Brien Wyndham,	
Colchester . . .	240	third Earl of Egremont . . .	321
William Huskisson . . .	241	Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl	
William Wentworth Fitzwil-		of Elgin . . .	322
liam, second Earl Fitzwilliam	243	John Murray . . .	323

INTRODUCTION

IT may sometimes happen that the arbitrary date which fixes the division between century and century also marks a turning-point in the stream of artistic progress ; and, less rarely, that a change of dynasty or reign, with accompanying changes of favourites and fashions, produces a revolution in taste and the arts. But the accession of Queen Anne, so nearly coinciding with the beginning of the eighteenth century, is in no way thus distinguished. The condition of portrait painting, in particular, with Sir Godfrey Kneller at the head of the practice, remained throughout the first quarter of the century much the same as during the reign of William III ; and Kneller's competitors in London, led by Michael Dahl, a Swede (1656-1743), Jonathan Richardson the elder (1665-1745), and Charles Jervas (1675 ?-1739), aped his manner in a general way as far as their abilities permitted.

The year 1723, which witnessed the disappearance of Kneller and the birth of Sir Joshua Reynolds, saw also the accession of Louis XV, an event of far-reaching consequence to the arts, marking as it did the complete establishment of the *rococo* style in France. In the introduction to the second volume of the present series an attempt was made to draw a distinction between portraiture which is in intention rhetorical, and that which is a simple statement of appearances. And in dealing with the portrait painters of the eighteenth century a somewhat cognate line of separation, dividing those who were inspired by *rococo* from those who were inspired by academic ideals, is clearly discernible. The *rococo*, with its source amongst the marble clouds and rockwork of Bernini and its bizarre divagations into the regions of Gothic and Chinese, not only possesses an essential kinship with

naturalism, but is, besides, the parent stream of the romanticism of the nineteenth century. Its influence on English portraiture, conveyed through French channels, never extended very far ; but the fact that it is a principal ingredient in the style of Gainsborough gives it a right to something more than our mere recognition.

The academic, or, as it came subsequently to be called, the classic style, carries down its roots through the humanism of the Renaissance to classical foundations. It had ceased to flourish in Italy, the land of its growth, long before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the influence of any Italian artists who visited England about that time, mostly decorative painters who only occasionally executed portraits, contained little trace of it. But the seeds of it lingering there were gathered by Sir Joshua Reynolds and matured in his practice. Enforced by his teaching, to which his position as head of the only institute of artistic education then existing in this country gave incalculable weight, his principles became the principles of the Royal Academy, and his successful career was the proof of their universal acceptance.

It was natural that when time and circumstances were ripe for the development of a native school of painting, the art should have expressed itself through the channel of portraiture, since the taste for portraiture is one of the conspicuous characteristics of the English people. And in the eyes of a dispassionate student of British iconography the eminent artistic quality of the portraits executed by the great English masters of the eighteenth century only incidentally affects the long series of representations of eminent Englishmen stretching from the earliest monumental effigy to the latest photographic reproduction. But the dispassionate are few ; to most the glamour of the atmosphere in which Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney, Lawrence, Hoppner and Raeburn have enveloped their sitters is irresistible ; its intoxicating influence is enhanced by the knowledge

that each of these enchanted canvases has become, by the caprice of fashion, a security for an immense if speculative investment, convertible into such sums of money as will buy a large tract of country or maintain a considerable community for months. In short, having achieved that happy stage of civilization in which the lump of gold and the works of the *Gracculi delirantes*, no longer in competition, have become embodied in one and the same object, it is all but impossible for us to assess the artistic importance of a picture apart from the price it would command, and little less difficult to disentangle its probable iconographic value and its artistic merit. This difficulty, however, the student of iconography must face; in mitigation he will find that the works of the great masters most interesting to the art critic, the picture dealer, and the millionaire collector only by exception come within the field of historical portraiture.

A few of these masters belong indeed almost exclusively to the annals of painting, the most conspicuous amongst such being William Hogarth (1697-1764), whose talent for portraiture, exemplified particularly in the magnificent series of heads on one canvas, known as 'Hogarth's Servants', in the National Gallery, unfortunately received recognition from few sitters whose personalities are still of interest to anybody but their descendants. Posterity owes to him, however, besides two portraits of himself, one of the most striking pictures of the oft-depicted Garrick (in the Royal Collection), the only record of the appearance of Fielding, and the vivid sketch of Simon Lord Lovat (in the National Portrait Gallery). The countenances of Hogarth's portraits show mannerisms of type entirely his own, and remote from those of the Kneller school. This may have been one of the causes which turned the patronage of the fashionable world, which he satirized and despised, away from him. The vitality of the old, stiff, traditional style assuredly accounts for the success of Hogarth's contemporary, Thomas Hudson (1701-79). The clients of the most widely employed portraitist of

the reign of George II were, as Walpole says, 'content with his honest similitudes and with the fair tied wigs, blue velvet coats, and white satin waistcoats, which he bestowed liberally' upon them. It is upon the taste of the patrons that Reynolds's indictment of the state of painting at this time as the 'lowest it had ever been in (it could not indeed be lower)', reflects quite as severely as upon the skill of the artist. Perhaps more so, for a few of Hudson's works, such as the Archbishop Potter in the Bodleian Gallery, and the Duchess of Ancaster in a masquerade dress, well known from McArdeU's beautiful mezzotint, show that he was not unsusceptible to French influence, and could produce pictures original in design and in colour.

Allan Ramsay (1713-84), Reynolds's early rival, paid repeated visits to the Continent, where he became steeped in the *rococo* taste of Vanloo and Nattier. His appointment as Principal Painter to George III, due it may well be to *esprit de clocher* on the part of Lord Bute rather than to his merits as an artist, undoubtedly introduced a welcome air of freshness into the formal and stiff state-portraiture of the early Hanoverian court, and made a more spirited manner of representation fashionable.

Direct contact with contemporary French art cannot be counted amongst the causes which gave the style of Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) a strong bias towards the *rococo*. The influence of fashion, which Ramsay had been in a position to direct, and familiarity with the work of pastellists, especially that of William Hoare, gained during Gainsborough's residence in Bath (1760-74), certainly affected his style. But when all the circumstances of his education and surroundings have been analysed and computed, this great precursor of the naturalists and romanticists can only be placed with Correggio and Rubens amongst the most amazing instances of the spontaneous development of genius. Gainsborough did not execute, like Kneller, Reynolds, and Lawrence, a great number of what may be called official

portraits, but his sitters included some of the eminent politicians, lawyers, and commanders of his time, and his famous pictures of Mrs. Siddons and Garrick, Tenducci and Fischer, Giardini and Abel, and the exquisite series of portraits of the Linley family (in the Dulwich Gallery) remain as memorials of his intimacy with a large circle of famous actors and musicians ; while the seventeen wonderful heads of the children of King George III (in the Royal Collection) are the happiest monuments of the patronage of that art-loving monarch. A contemporary critic, no less than Sir Joshua Reynolds (in his Fourteenth Discourse), singles out their 'exact truth of resemblance' amongst the most admirable qualities of Gainsborough's portraits. Considering them on the whole, at this distance of time, it is impossible not to wonder whether the brilliantly white complexions and strongly arched dark eyebrows with which he endowed his sitters do not amount to a mannerism, and where portraits by him can be compared with those of the same personages by other artists, some exaggeration in these points must indeed be presumed. An instance of material for a comparison of this sort is afforded by the portraits of Sir William Blackstone by Gainsborough (in the National Gallery), by Reynolds (in the National Portrait Gallery), and by Kettle (in the Bodleian Gallery).

As a portrait painter Gainsborough had neither scholars nor imitators to speak of ; his influence upon subsequent art flowed through other channels, while, from the dominating position that he occupied, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) imposed a formula of portrait design upon sitters and painters alike. One cause of the acceptance of this formula was its success in producing pictures harmonizing perfectly with the sober neo-classic surroundings in which they found themselves. In its complete comprehension of a mood in art and its attempt to realize this mood in every object of use or ornament, the second half of the eighteenth century in England (c. 1770-1830) was one of the great flowering-times of culture. On the Continent, although the belief

in a classical standard of taste actually underlay all artistic expression like a ground-bass, its existence is barely recognizable amidst the irrelevant and inherently capricious variations of the *barocco* and *rococo*. But in this country no such brilliant imaginative overgrowth obscured the main principles of Renaissance tradition. Thus it is that Ramsay and Gainsborough appear to us to be allied in sympathy with Nattier and Peronneau rather than with their English contemporaries. We learn without surprise that the most tasteful Chelsea porcelain was produced under the direction of a Frenchman; and realize why even Chippendale and his compeers were fain to intertwine their fancies with odds and ends of Chinese and Gothic and so attach them to something actual, however remote.

The early works of Reynolds before his journey to Italy—such as the portrait of Lord Keppel engraved in the 'First Annual of the Walpole Society' (1912)—are not markedly superior to those of his master Hudson. It is well known how the portrait of Giuseppe Marchi as a Turkish boy, Reynolds's show-piece brought back from Italy in 1752, disconcerted Hudson and exasperated conservative critics, and at the same time made others feel that by such art 'the whole interval', as Malone expresses it, 'between the time of Charles the First and conclusion of the reign of George the Second, though distinguished by the performances of Lely, Riley, and Kneller, seemed to be annihilated'. Reynolds has himself recorded that it required 'an uncommon share of boldness and perseverance to stand against the rushing tide of Gothicism', under which trope he clearly includes the *rococo* as well as the old-fashioned stiff style. One cause of Reynolds's ultimate triumph—we may call it a tertiary one—was the sterling solidity and dignity of his personal character. A secondary one was his constant practical appeal to conservatism in a conservative country and era. For his genius was of the assimilative type, and the impression which Guido, Titian, and Rembrandt made upon

him is easily traced in his own canvases. He was a convinced academic, and naturalism, as Gainsborough, Constable, or Millais understood it, had little attraction for him. But the primary cause and surest foundation of Reynolds's dictatorship was the weight that his official position gave him in an extremely authority-respecting community. Nobody who is not familiar with the history and manners of the time can have a just idea of the social and artistic eminence of his situation after he had been chosen, on account of his personal character rather than of his distinction as a painter, to preside over the newly founded Royal Academy. It may safely be said that no artist before or since ever occupied a position approaching it in its unquestioned primacy. To recall, in the simple expression of Malone, that Reynolds was 'for near half a century well known to almost every person in this country who had any pretensions to taste or literature'; to glance through a list of the personages who sat to him; to read only the account of his funeral, observed as an occasion of public mourning and followed by a train of some of the most exclusive aristocrats the world has ever seen, is to realize the social eminence at which Reynolds had arrived, and understand why his theories and even his mannerisms were universally accepted and imitated.

Historians of music have often remarked the sterilizing influence exerted by Handel upon the art for nearly half a century after his death, and Reynolds himself made a somewhat parallel observation on the feebleness of the disciples of Garrick, which arose, he said, 'because they all imitate him, and then it becomes impossible: as this is like a man's resolving to go always behind another; and whilst this resolution lasts, it renders it impossible he should ever be on a par with him'. What is true of Handel and Garrick is true of Reynolds; only as his manner varied considerably at different stages of his practice, his innumerable imitators gain a superficial air of originality, since some, like Francis Cotes (1725-70) and Joseph Wright of Derby

(1734-97), assimilated the artist's earlier, and others, like Sir William Beechey (1753-1839) and John Hoppner (1758-1810), reproduced his later style.

It is useless to prolong a list of the names and dates of Reynolds's satellites, and overcrowd with such easily collected materials the space intended for an outline sketch of the trend of taste in portraiture. In such a survey George Romney (1734-1802), although he has been acclaimed by most modern art critics and all picture-dealers as having attained the same artistic level as Reynolds and Gainsborough, must not as a painter of portraits, strictly interpreting the term, be accorded too conspicuous a place. In a long and fashionable practice it fell to Romney, as a matter of course, to record the features of some people of historical importance. His principal claim to the gratitude of historians is based upon his connexion with the Earham coterie—Hayley and his friends—for it is to this that we owe his portraits of Gibbon and Cowper. His innumerable pictures and studies of Lady Hamilton form, in a sense, an episode of history in themselves; but it is not impossible that the canvases on which Tischbein and Madame Lebrun have represented her convey a more truthful, if less romantic, impression of the Siren. The greater number of Romney's works show that no portraitist ever realized more clearly the fact that every era has its own idea of the features and attitude which becomingly characterize it and will fix it in the eyes of posterity. Contemporaries can discern, beyond this deliberately adopted iconographic type, the subtle shades of distinction which reveal identity much in the same way as that one Chinaman is able to recognize another. To most European eyes two Chinese faces are not easily distinguishable from one another, and a somewhat similar problem confronts posterity when it tries to make allowance for the tendency of contemporary fashion in portraiture to reduce salient points of physiognomy to a common level—especially when this

tendency is complicated by artistic affectation so pronounced, so refined, as that of Romney. To us, at this distance of time, his sitters have mostly not only sunk their identity in the class of English Ladies and Gentlemen of the Reign of King George III, they have retreated yet farther and become simply 'Romneys'.

The very charm and elegance of Romney's mannerisms have caused them to be overlooked by those who have censured the greatest portraitist of the succeeding generation—Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830)—for taking refuge in devices of the same class. Amongst his own countrymen, whose sensibility to artistic impressions has always been blunted by a confusion of moral and literary fallacies having nothing to do with aesthetics, Lawrence has alternately been held up to adulation and ridicule. Because the costume of his time has been denounced as *barocco*, its manners flaunting and its morality loosely worn, he has been blamed for reflecting all this in his art. Campbell, the poet, wittily described his own portrait by Lawrence as making him 'seem to have got into a drawing-room in the mansions of the blest and be looking at oneself in the mirrors'. It must be remembered that the ill-assorted occupants of this happy apartment were potentates and aristocrats whose self-satisfaction, rudely shaken by revolutions and defeats, had surmounted them to revive with renewed vigour; plutocrats and demagogues newly risen on the crest of the wave but not very certain of the future. The mirrors do not really flatter. Viewed from the position indicated with delicate satire by Campbell, Lawrence's art reveals the characters of his subjects with veracity not less relentless in result, however remote in method, from that of his greatest contemporary Goya. As a group of portraits of the actors in one of the supreme moments of all history, the series in the Waterloo Chamber at Windsor Castle stands a unique monument; and the pictures painted for Sir Robert Peel's gallery at Drayton Manor, and now unfortunately dispersed, were only second in interest.

It may be said, in fact, that it fell to Lawrence to modify the intellectual aspect of the art he practised in sympathy with the vast political changes taking place in the world around him. The line he took in the development of its technical side is also quite independent of the traditions of his immediate predecessors. His life was not long, but his precocity, as extraordinary as any in the history of art, gave him the position of a master while his fellow students were still at the beginning of things. His earliest manner, based upon that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, is seen in the famous whole-length of Miss Farren (now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection), painted when he was twenty years old. This swiftly gave place to a more original style, influenced to some extent by the technique of pastel, in which as a child he had made himself expert. It would be rash, however, to attribute to this source alone the inspiration of the astonishing portrait of Queen Charlotte (also exhibited in 1790), belonging to Viscount Ridley. The method of the artist's maturity, founded upon a close study of Rubens, is marked by the deliberate raising of the general tone of the picture, heightening to the utmost brilliancy and lustre of light and shade, without the introduction of bright local colour. Thus his later ideal, which promptly became that of the whole English school of the younger generation, differed widely from that of Reynolds, which emulated the crumbling impasto and golden glow of the great Venetian Masters.

Lawrence's successors, the most eminent of whom were Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), Henry William Pickersgill (1782-1875), and Sir George Hayter (1792-1871), were enabled, as the chemistry of the colourman enlarged the gamut of colours and the pharmacopoeia of varnishes and mediums, to add gayer colour and enhanced luminosity to their pictures. Too often, indeed, the original effect of the once vividly illuminated heads and brightly tinted accessories was purchased at the price of premature decay, cracking, and fading of the painting.

The dismal spectacle of the usual dining-room full of dilapidated family portraits of the first half of the last century is in consequence familiar to everybody.

The pursuit of highly naturalistic effects unquestionably received considerable additional impetus from the marvellous discovery of photography, and reached its climax in the portraits of the earlier Pre-Raphaelites in the middle of the century. By a coincidence worth remembrance, the year 1851 was marked not only by the outbreak of the revolution headed by Millais and Holman Hunt, but also by the death of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1789-1851), the pioneer of portrait photography.

Before this, however, the beginnings of yet another school had arisen; one seeking again the humanistic inspiration of the Old Masters, howbeit of a different hierarchy from that before which Reynolds and Lawrence had bowed. In this band George Richmond (1809-96), who must receive more extensive notice in a paragraph dedicated to portrait draughtsmen, and George Frederick Watts (1817-1904) are the leading figures. They represent—Watts and his followers especially—the dawning of the retrospective tendency, the attempt to recapture a remote mood by surrounding modern life with antique or outlandish accessories, which set in with the Gothic revival, and still dominates the world of fashion with increasingly consistent pedantry, although necessarily less in the sphere of portraiture than in other forms of art.

In Scotland, meanwhile, a less variously inspired but more homogeneous school of portrait painters flourished from the time of Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), whose works are to be included, according to the golden appraisal of Bond Street, amongst those of the great age of the eighteenth century. In his early pictures Raeburn's talent manifests itself in highly original effects of lighting, sometimes more advantageous to the general aspect of his composition than flattering to his sitters. Later on, when the routine of turning out portraits painted

under unvarying conditions of studio illumination had become, as Alan Cunningham's eulogistic account of the painter's businesslike methods shows, a matter of daily habit, Raeburn's art anticipated many of the most refined qualities of the best photography. Historically, his works form a complete and self-contained group, scarcely to be paralleled by the labours of any other artist. As Cunningham says, 'he painted all the eminent men of his time and nation ; and a gallery of the illustrious heads of a most brilliant period might almost be completed from his works alone'. His massively effective *chiaroscuro*, vigorous brush-work, and simplicity of expression became, as it were, an heirloom in the Scottish School. Sir John Watson Gordon (1790-1864) and Sir Daniel Macnee (1806-82), as well as other more recently deceased and some yet living painters, have borne witness to the vitality of this great realistic tradition. It is no disparagement to the admirable portraits produced under its inspiration, to say that when the great master-question of the influence of photography upon painting in the nineteenth century comes to be debated by historians, these works must take a prominent place in the discussion.

During the period covered by the present volumes, oil-painting reigned supreme over all other methods employed in portraiture by British artists, but a considerable share of power behind the throne must be conceded to pastel, not only on account of what was achieved in this medium, but because of the immense influence which it exercised upon the practice of painters in oil. In France, in art as in politics, the wielders of this share of power assumed, at this time, a conspicuous place in public view, and nothing was produced more masterly or more vivacious than the portraits of Jean-Baptiste Peronneau (1715-83) and Maurice Quentin de Latour (1704-86), the two supreme masters of this branch of art ; pastel not only influenced oil-painting but eclipsed it. Painting in chalks has always been a cosmopolitan art. In origin Italian, its modest beginnings in England in the seven-

teenth century were doubtless derived from French instruction ; and when it emerged into the full light of fashion as a technically complete process at the beginning of the following century, it did so in the hands of the Venetian *virtuosa* Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757). The fame of Rosalba as well as the vogue of the new art was spread abroad not only by the portraits of foreign travellers—those of numerous English people amongst the rest—which she executed at Venice, but by her journeys to Paris (1723) and other continental capitals. She never came to England, but Latour, who owed much to her example, is believed to have passed some time here in his early life, and it was by directly copying her work that William Hoare (1709-92), a very prolific and widely employed painter, formed his style. The fashion received further impetus from another much-travelled artist, the Genevese Jean Étienne Liotard (1702-89), who, encouraged by several Englishmen of position with whom he had been brought into relationship at Paris, spent two years in London (1756-8), and revisited it in 1772. Liotard was one of the earliest and most daring pioneers of naturalism, and much of his work is, on this account, astoundingly modern in appearance. An immense number of the portraits executed during his sojourn in England must still be hanging unidentified in the passages and bedrooms of old country houses ; a delightful head of Edward Duke of York is in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace ; and a representative group, including several important pictures, may be studied in the Museum of his native city.

In John Russell (1745-1806) the British School produced a pastellist worthy at his best to be ranked with the most famous French masters. As a disciple of Rosalba (although not actually a pupil) he adopted her softly-graded style in preference to the boldly-hatched modelling of Latour, and by the depth of his tone and force of his colour, derived to some extent from Liotard, gave a new turn to the art. His extraordinary technical dexterity was often discounted by deplorable lack

of taste. His earlier pictures, such as the portraits of Sir Joseph Banks and his family (in the possession of Lord Brabourne), executed while the restraining influence of Sir Joshua Reynolds was still predominant, may justly be pronounced to be some of the most beautiful heads ever executed in pastel. Although equally vivid as portraiture, his later works, painted after the over-richness of Lawrence had begun to gain ground, are, with their hot flesh-tints, contrasted with crude blues in the draperies and backgrounds, lacking in harmony and decorative quality. A word of mention must be found for two minor pastellists: Daniel Gardner (d. 1805), whose close imitations of the style of Reynolds, executed in an unfading gouache-chalk medium, give some idea of the original effect of Sir Joshua's long since faded and mellowed paintings; and Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1734-1806), whose numerous small oval portraits, including many of personages of historic importance, mark the perfect type of a popular and widely practised form of the art.

After a hundred and fifty years of ever-increasing splendour the great English school of miniature-painting had passed at the close of the seventeenth century into a state of temporary eclipse. A few followers of Cooper, such as Lawrence Crosse (1650?-1724), lingered on the scene, and in their hands and those of Bernard Lens (1680-1740) the old technical tradition of painting on vellum found its last noteworthy exponents. In its place arose a fashion for miniatures in enamel. As early as the reign of Charles I, Petitot, after a visit he had paid to London, had raised up a few English emulators, but their works are more interesting as curiosities than remarkable for iconographic or artistic excellence. It was to an artist of French extraction, Charles Boit (d. 1726), that the revival of enamelling in Queen Anne's reign is due. Boit spent a great part of his life in technical experiments, and it is probably to these that his successors owed a greatly augmented palette of colours and other improvements in the management of a

complicated and treacherous process. He was himself, if a large portrait of a lady in the Ashmolean Museum is to be taken as a fair specimen of his work, an artist greatly inferior in ability to Christian Friedrich Zincke (1684?–1767), the painter who, taking advantage of the increased capabilities, created the vogue of miniatures in enamel. Only after close study does the very high quality of Zincke's portraiture reveal itself. The first aspect of his miniatures, especially when several are grouped together, is repellent owing to the unbecoming and dowdy style of costume and hair-dressing of the period, and to the monotonous ultramarine, occasionally exchanged for crude cherry-colour, which he used for the draperies. But the faces are almost always full of character and distinction. It is much to be regretted that so few of his sitters can now be identified. The existence of innumerable miniatures executed in his manner shows that he must have had, like every fashionable portraitist, a considerable number of imitators. Yet none of these followers succeeded in making his name famous, nor in prolonging the popularity of the art after Zincke's retirement. Miniatures in enamel continued indeed to be executed, but they were in general translations or versions of oil-paintings—such as Zincke himself was sometimes in the habit of making—and not direct transcripts from life. Henry Bone (1755–1834), a most skilful and productive enameller, and his son Henry Pierce Bone (1779–1855), devoted their whole careers to this type of work ; but their astonishing patience and mechanical accomplishment cannot be accepted as excusing the liberties they took with the originals. Unless—to quote a typical example—the elder Bone modified his copy (well known from reproductions) of the portrait of Gibbon by Reynolds (in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery) with the aid of sittings given to him by the historian—and this is in the highest degree improbable—it must be rejected as iconographically worthless.

Scarcely had the retirement of Zincke and the decline of the fashion which his talent had sustained made itself felt, than a revived and

greatly changed form of miniature-painting in water-colours arose to take its place. Both in technical structure and in artistic aims the new school, of which Cosway, Smart, and Engleheart are the foremost representatives, is totally distinct from the ancient tradition of Hilliard, Oliver, and Cooper. The adoption of ivory instead of vellum as a painting-ground, and the disuse to a great extent of the opaque body-colour pigments which the early masters had taken over from the mediaeval book-illuminators, reacted, as profound technical changes invariably do, upon the spirit of the art. The origin of the use of ivory is unknown, but it is not unlikely that a desire to vie in some degree with the lustre of enamel may have led to the choice of the new material. In the first miniatures on ivory, including the earliest works of the three masters already named, the execution is to a great extent in the old style, the whole surface being covered with paint, much of it opaque. Before long, however, it was found that the surface of the ivory itself, discreetly supplemented by stipplings of transparent colour, afforded a perfect means of expressing the textures of a portrait.

In appreciating and calling out the capabilities of the new method, George Engleheart (1752-1839) was possibly the most consummate master. John Smart (1741-1811) has with some justice been pronounced by recent critics the greatest portrait painter of the school; but it was not without good reason that Richard Cosway (1740-1821) earned a reputation that overtopped all his contemporaries in this branch of art and eclipsed them for nearly a century after his death. Apart from his miniatures, excellent as they are, Cosway claims particular admiration for his beautiful portrait-drawings in blacklead, partially finished in water-colours. The capricious proportions of the figures, a mannerism wilfully adopted in imitation of certain old masters, particularly Parmigianino, must not blind us to the originality and refined taste of these charming productions. Works

like those in the rich collection of such studies formerly in the possession of the late Lord Tweedmouth, and the group of three ladies in the Royal Collection at Windsor, prove that Cosway's comprehension of the qualities of the lead pencil is not unworthy to be compared in its own way with that of the faultless, classical Ingres.

As a follower of Cosway in this particular style Henry Edridge (1769-1821) has earned the gratitude of posterity by his straightforward if uninspired drawings of a great number of the eminent men of his time. We are indebted even more to John Downman (1750-1824) for portraits full of character and charm all their own, and to George Dance the Younger (1741-1825) for the long series of profiles of celebrated contemporaries which he, an architect by profession, devoted the later part of his life to sketching. Naïf and devoid of any artistic pretensions, these drawings are in many cases the most obviously unaffected and trustworthy of all the presentments of the illustrious men and women of this brilliant epoch. One set, representing artists, is in the possession of the Royal Academy; another—more extensive—was dispersed at Christie's some years ago, when the most interesting portraits were secured by the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery.

Whilst the taste for portrait-drawings was spreading during the first quarter of the last century, that for miniatures was losing ground; indeed, this change of fashion is probably as much to blame as the invention of photography, often cited as the principal cause of the extinction of this exquisite and time-honoured art. The truth is, that miniature finally expired, as arts have a way of doing, as the result of too-complete realization of technical ambitions, enabling it to compete with other methods of painting. Cosway's and Edridge's larger works were executed upon paper, as were those of Alfred Edward Chalon (1781-1860), the draughtsman who succeeded them in the popular favour. At a critical moment it was discovered that by turning an exceedingly thin spiral shaving from a tusk and steaming it until it could be uncurled, an ivory surface as large as a sheet of

paper could be secured. At the same time, progress in the chemistry of painting placed a whole rainbow of new pigments at the disposal of artists. The miniaturists, such as Andrew Robertson (1777-1845), Sir William Charles Ross (1794-1860), and Robert Thorburn (1818-85), hastened to avail themselves of these new inventions. The results are often miracles of laborious finish, technical ingenuity, and artistic elegance, but are unfortunately lacking in all the distinguishing qualities of miniature.

A generation which saw the invention and growing resources of photography began impatiently to demand of the older forms of portraiture something succinct and speedily realized, and an artist soon appeared ready to provide it. George Richmond (1809-96) has already been mentioned amongst painters in oil; in early life he painted principally in water-colours, and the fine workmanship and noble conception of his portraits in this medium raise them high above those of any contemporary draughtsman or pseudo-miniaturist. Later, he turned to making drawings of the head alone, the size of life, in black, red, and white chalk on stone-coloured paper. In this manner he drew many hundred portraits, and from amongst them a gallery might be filled containing representations of almost every man and woman of eminence living during the period when he flourished. Admirable as drawings, sympathetic to the verge of flattery as likenesses, economical both in time and material to execute, it is difficult to imagine anything more characteristic in their bald utilitarianism (if such a word can be applied to portraiture) of the period which produced them, or any decorative scheme other than the sentimental and aesthetic confusion of the Mid-Victorian drawing-room, where they would not be out of mood.

Standing midway between serious art and caricature, the shade or silhouette must be allotted a distinct position of its own amongst the activities of portraiture in the eighteenth century. It has recently

been receiving the attention due to it, and a useful handbook by Mrs. E. Nevill Jackson, with many charming and amusing illustrations, has been published. Isolated specimens dating back to the beginning of the century have been discovered ; but the fashion for this type of portraiture did not arise until about 1760, and was probably stimulated by the curiosity and interest aroused by the Greek vases discovered in Southern Italy, and spread abroad by the publications of d'Hancarville and Sir William Hamilton. It is well to recall that the only authentic portrait of Gray in later life, upon which all the others are based, was a shade ; and that, with all the extant caricatures and descriptions, we should still have a very faint idea of the appearance of Gibbon were it not for the diverting full-length silhouettes cut by a Mrs. Brown. Indeed, when dealing with the whole figure, these shades are often a valuable supplement to portraiture. In this particular line Auguste Edouart (1789-1861) was an unsurpassable craftsman ; his silhouettes, almost invariably full-lengths, are believed to amount to above a hundred thousand. An admirable figure of Sir Walter Scott cut by him is in the National Portrait Gallery. The names and lives of many other less eminent silhouettists are recorded in the biographical list appended to Mrs. Jackson's book.

Although caricature does not, strictly speaking, come within the domain of portraiture, it is of immense importance as a commentary on more serious forms of art, and especially so during the period under discussion. Caricatures relating to political and social events in England were produced during the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century ; but they are mainly, ostensibly at least, of Dutch origin, clumsy allegorical compositions, the portraits introduced being of trifling iconographic value. Hogarth may, indeed, be claimed as the father of the great line of British social caricaturists, but the satirical portraiture occurring incidentally in his plates is neither very frequent nor very telling. The first outburst

of personal caricature followed the accession of George III, and was principally directed against John, Earl of Bute, and his supporters. In the prints belonging to this series, and in fact in almost all those before the appearance of Gillray's first political caricatures, the individuality of the figures is too brutally forced to allow them to possess much iconographic interest. James Gillray (1757-1815) himself assuredly did not err on the side of gentleness, but there is a refinement about his cruelty indicating uncommon acuteness in observing and exactitude in recording the personal defects and eccentricities of his subjects. Dependent only on the presentments of the court painters, without the corrective supplied by such immortal satire as 'Toasting Muffins' and 'Frying Sprats', posterity would never have acquired the intimate knowledge which it possesses of the appearance of George III and Queen Charlotte. The same is true of Pitt, Fox, Burke, and all the public characters of that era. In its own way Gillray's satirical portraiture has never been equalled; even the best of the followers who supplemented and continued his work, such as Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827)—whose more abundant social satire does not call for notice here—could only imitate his style as closely as their talents permitted. After the close of the eventful days of the Regency and the scandal-provoking reign of George IV, the vitriolic quality began to evaporate and English caricature gradually assumed the highly civilized tone of which the 'Punch' cartoons of Leech and Tenniel are standard examples. The merit of leading this salutary revolution is due to John Doyle (1797-1868), whose activity almost exactly covered the period between the death of Rowlandson and the middle of the nineteenth century. His drawings, many of which are in the British Museum, signed with the famous monogram HB, were reproduced by lithography; the satire is of the kindest, but there is ample contemporary witness to its pungency as well as to the refinement and accuracy of the portraiture.

Of all the difficulties attending an attempt to give, in a summary outline such as this, some idea of the riches of iconographic art in the period covered by these volumes, the most formidable is assuredly that of according its due position and perspective to the engraved portraiture. On one hand attention is attracted, even overwhelmed, by the magnificent productions of the great native school of mezzotint, one of the few master achievements of British art and without parallel in the history of any other country. The glamour surrounding these prints, arising, as in the case of the pictures which they reproduce, from the appeal made by their beauty, rarity, and immense money value, is apt to blind us to the fact that they are, after all, primarily portraits—‘English heads’ as the earliest collectors like Horace Walpole always called them. On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that being only translations they are, as portraits, of secondary interest. The whole body of them, however admirable artistically, does not possess the iconographic importance of a single plate—Faithorne’s portrait of Milton for example—by one of the painter-engravers of the seventeenth century.

It seemed preferable in the case of painters to give a sketch of the general tendencies of portraiture instead of filling pages with a dry schedule of names and dates; in dealing with the mezzotinters, such a list would be equally unprofitable, but there is no alternative. The prints of this type in the British Museum, a vast and superb but probably far from complete collection, are believed to approach twenty thousand in number. Very many of the finest came to the nation in 1902, under the will of the late Lord Cheylesmore. In honour of this magnificent bequest an exhibition of a select series was held in 1905. The catalogue contains an introduction by Sir Sidney Colvin, who has condensed into half a dozen pages an inimitable summary of the history of the art and of the characteristics of the chief engravers who practised it. Any attempt to give an

intelligible idea of the subject in a more compact form must be ridiculous. The student desiring a succinct account of the evolution of mezzotint and its principal achievements cannot gain it better than from this catalogue.

Although mezzotint overshadowed all other forms of engraved portraiture, it did not extinguish them. Line-engravers abounded; the stipple method, introduced in the third quarter of the century, became extremely popular, especially for the innumerable small portraits published in books and magazines; and, later on, combinations of all known processes in a single plate came into use. All these engravings belong, like the mezzotints, to the class of translations; in fact, many of them—even of those highest in artistic quality—might more fitly be described as paraphrases of the originals they reproduce. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the disappearance or obscurity of these originals in numerous, possibly hundreds of instances, gives the copies, however inexact, a certain documentary importance. The invention of lithography at the end of the eighteenth century placed an easy and direct reproductive process in the hands of draughtsmen, and gave promise of a revival of painter-engravers' portraiture. In England this promise bore fruit in some work of considerable intrinsic beauty and original iconographic value. Unfortunately lithography was one of the first branches of art to fall under the influence of photography, and speedily degenerated into a cheap mechanical process.

In the introduction to the second volume of this series it has already been explained how the influence of the Italian school of Bernini contributed along with other causes to paralyse the decayed vitality of the native school of monumental sculpture. For various reasons, what may be called domestic sculpture has never established itself as a part of the normal surroundings of life in English houses. Along with the half-confessed puritanical mistrust of an art which has always

dealt largely with the nude, there exists a feeling, perhaps a prejudice, that statuary is out of mood with the decorative accessories of ordinary dwelling-rooms; that marble is too cold, bronze too sombre, and both are too aloof to harmonize with them. It is true that in many of the great houses built during the period when the principles of Graeco-Roman and Neo-Greek design were being generally applied, halls and galleries, suitable in scale and lighting for the display of sculpture, find their place. But these, like the collecting of the antique marbles which filled them, were only for the wealthy. The middle class, which provided the most numerous body of patrons, seems rather to have shared the views of the Reverend Doctor Folliott, who, 'disposed, as he was, to hold that whatever had been in Greece was right, was more than doubtful of the propriety of throwing open the *adytum* to the illiterate profane'. Illogical as it may seem, this attitude towards sculpture in general is assuredly accountable for the fact that the most extensive and brilliant school of portraiture that history has ever seen as far as painting, miniature, and engraving are concerned, has produced comparatively few statues and busts of outstanding merit, and those few (when they were not actually the work of immigrant artists) under the stimulus of foreign influence.

The source of influence has generally been France. Even in Bernini's lifetime the centre of activity in sculpture showed signs of moving away from Rome. Whether from a drying-up of the springs of the Italian genius in this direction, or from the foundation about this time of the French Academy in Rome, irrigating, as it were, fresh fields from the fountain of classical inspiration, Bernini's most eminent disciples almost all happened to be Frenchmen or Flemings. The wealthy, splendour-loving, and vainglorious court of Louis XIV offered liberal patronage, and at Bernini's death (1680) the course of the great stream of sculpture may be said to leave Rome and the Italian land, and set towards Paris, through which, from the days of Puget and Coyzevox to

those of Carpeaux and Rodin, it has flowed in increasing volume and majesty.

The reign of Queen Anne witnessed the ending of some and beginning of other large public artistic undertakings; the rebuilding of the City of London, which had been in progress since the Great Fire, was crowned by the completion of St. Paul's, and an Act of Parliament ordered fifty new parish churches to be erected in what were then the outskirts of the town. Horace Walpole alludes to the disappointment of some Italian painters who had come over in the hope of being engaged to decorate the Cathedral, and it is not improbable that the three Flemish sculptors, Pieter Scheemakers (1691-1769), Joannes Michiel Rysbrack (1693-1770), and Laurent Delvaux (1695-1778), may have been in the first instance attracted to England by similar ambitions. If they failed in these they found abundant employment as monumental sculptors. All of them were essentially statuary of the Berninesque school, and although they found it necessary in this country to turn their attention to portraiture, they did not apparently take much interest in it; the effigies of those commemorated play, as a rule, a subsidiary part in the many monuments by them in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere; and even in portrait statues, such as Rysbrack's figure of Queen Anne at Blenheim Palace, the head is reduced to insignificance by the over-elaboration of the accessories.

Very different in his attitude towards this branch of the art was the Lyonnais Louis François Roubiliac (1690-1762). Although he produced some allegorical compositions of very great beauty, Roubiliac was essentially a portrait sculptor with an intense interest in physiognomy and character. He was also a highly accomplished workman, even a *virtuoso*, in marble and terra-cotta. Certain of his busts reach the high standard of the Roman sculptors of the early Imperial age on one hand, of his own compatriots, such as Houdon, on the other. His work is plentiful, but is to be seen at its best at Trinity College.

Cambridge, where, in the Chapel, is his famous statue of Sir Isaac Newton, and in the Library are a number of his finest busts. Admirable sketches in terra-cotta for some of these are to be seen in the British Museum. The coloured head of Colley Cibber in the National Portrait Gallery must be mentioned as an astonishing *tour de force*, only rivalled in its way by such things as Donatello's *Niccolo da Uzzano*.

To Flanders once more, but in the second generation of descent, England owes the next eminent portrait sculptor in her annals. Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) had the good fortune to live at a time when sculpture more nearly became a popular, domesticated art than it has ever done before or since. He had a very large practice; his presentations of Pitt and Fox are well known from numerous repetitions, and busts by him are to be found in almost every great house. They have a strong air of resemblance, and, although considerably inferior in animation and style to those of Roubiliac and contemporary French artists, shine by comparison with the work of his successors. John Bacon (1740-99) carved some excellent portrait statues and busts; his monument to Lord Chatham in Westminster Abbey is justly celebrated; two typical examples of his busts, representing Archbishop Markham and Bishop Lewis Bagot, are in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford.

The assertion, already advanced, that from the death of Bernini to the present time Paris has been the established seat of the genius of sculpture, is based upon critical and historical fact, and is not, in ignoring Canova, as paradoxical as it at first appears. Greeted in his own day as the morning star of a new era of classical purity, and now very generally regarded as a blight-spreading meteor, Canova's significance from both points of view has been much exaggerated. The desire to return to what were believed to be Greek standards had as a fact manifested itself consciously in French art before his time. Contem-

porary evidence is afforded by a passage in a letter of Horace Walpole's written in April 1764 ; indeed in such an instance as the ' Hymen ' on the monument of the Dauphin at Sens, the sculptor, Guillaume Coustou the Younger, may indeed be said, like the Duchess in Walpole's anecdote, to have actually achieved '*du Grec sans le savoir*'. Again, though accepted in Paris as the court-sculptor of Napoleon, Canova did not permanently deflect the direction of French taste. The superficial currents alone were affected ; beneath, the great tradition pursued its course, as the lives of Houdon, Rude, and Carpeaux, overlapping one another, clearly show.

Without digressing farther into the general aspects of the question, but confining ourselves to the influence of Canova on portraiture, it is necessary to describe some features of his style because, when adopted by such sculptors as Chantrey, they had a long-lived and disastrous effect on British art. Canova, in reverting to Greek ideals, overlooked the superlative portrait sculpture of the Roman Imperial age, doubtless because he disapproved of its realism ; the models he set before himself, mostly Hellenistic copies of more ancient originals, had, unfortunately, very generally been deprived, by scraping, pickling, and reworking, of their original surface to the depth of some millimetres, and consequently of what expressive character they had once possessed, and the lack of this quality was impartially maintained in the modern imitation. The unclassical modern clothing was stripped from the sitter, at least in idea, and nudity or drapery in antique taste took its place ; in the nick of time fashion abolished the wig and one great difficulty thus solved itself. But perhaps the most heterodox modern innovation to be got rid of was the indication of the pupils of the eyes. This illogical convention for expressing in an art strictly dealing with pure form a detail indicated in nature by colour alone, had received the sanction of Donatello and Michelangelo, and had been adopted, with what resulting animation is evident enough, by every considerable

sculptor since. The ancients, indeed, had usually contrived to dispense with it, but how far they had obviated its use by that of colour the Canovan school probably did not trouble to reflect.

The absurdities into which obedience to these canons led English sculptors are notorious : Dr. Johnson represented by Nollekens with a beggar's head of hair instead of his natural bald head or decent wig, and George IV riding draped by Chantrey in a table-cloth, not to speak of some semi-allegorical nudities in St. Paul's, may be described as ridiculous of set purpose, on a totally different principle from the kings and generals naively clad in a compromise for Roman armour by Gibbons or Rysbrack.

It is not necessary to say more of Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-1841) than that he was a devoted follower of the school of Canova. He had the fortune to succeed to the large professional practice founded on the popularity of the portrait bust established by Nollekens. His active career coincided with a period of our history as fertile as any in great men, of some of whom his vacuous masks are the only presentments remaining. John Gibson (1790-1866) and William Behnes (1795-1864) are perhaps best known of the artists of the same faith who followed him. Even the work of Thomas Woolner (1825-92), who, strangely enough, was personally in the closest alliance with the enthusiastic naturalists of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, only occasionally shows a tendency to break away from Canovan ideals. It was not until English sculpture was once more brought by the artists, Jules Dalou in particular, who migrated to London during the war of 1870, into contact with the main stream of French tradition, that its regeneration, since productive of such admirable results, was brought about.

Although never again approaching the high standard reached by the Simons, the iconographic element in British coins and medals increased steadily in interest from the beginning of the eighteenth century until the close of the period with which we are dealing. But, even more than

the other fields of sculpture, the die-engraver's art remained in the hands of foreigners. Thus Johann Crocker (1670-1741), Chief-Engraver to the Royal Mint during the greater part of Queen Anne's reign and that of George I, was a Saxon. His successor, John Sigismund Tanner (d. 1775), was also a German. Lewis Pingo (1743-1830), who later filled the same office for thirty-five years, was, it is true, born in England, but his father, Thomas Pingo (1692-1776), also a medallist employed by the Mint, was an Italian immigrant. It is somewhat consoling to our national pride that the most effective portrait-obverse of the period—that of the early gold coinage of George III—was executed by Richard Yeo (d. 1779), a solitary Englishman amidst this cloud of alien Chief-Engravers. All these artists belonged to the school of the classic Renaissance tradition. The influence of Canova begins to assert itself in the work of Thomas Wyon (1792-1817), the first of three members of a family (also, it may be observed, ultimately of German origin) which has produced many eminent medallists and seal-engravers to occupy the post of Chief-Engraver. The activity of his cousin, William Wyon (1795-1851), under three monarchs has left a conspicuous mark on our numismatic records. William Wyon's style has been criticized by Mr. Warwick Wroth in one sentence, in an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which accurately sums up the faults of a whole school: 'He was no doubt hampered by the mechanical conditions with which a modern medallist has usually to comply, and he sometimes adhered too faithfully to the medallic traditions of classical or rather pseudo-classical design.' These traditions had been, in fact, rigorously imposed upon English numismatic forms by Wyon's predecessor at the Mint, Benedetto Pistrucci (1784-1855), who came to London in 1815, was made Chief-Engraver two years later, and quickly established an artistic tyranny of the sort to which English taste has so often readily submitted at the hands of foreign masters. A Roman, who had been educated in the intimate

atmosphere of Canova's worshippers, Pistrucci further recommended himself by appearing at the moment when the bigoted devotion to Antique models was at its greatest intensity and the activity of the Parisian *Monnaie des Médailles* under Napoleon had awakened an uncommon interest in the medallic art amongst the general public. His versatility—for he was an accomplished gem-engraver and a practising sculptor as well as a medallist, and, like all Italians, a fine handicraftsman in all he undertook—even his self-confident and combative temperament, not unconsciously aping the spirit of Cellini, also counted as factors in his success. By insisting upon executing the portraits on the coinage directly from life and refusing to take them at second-hand from the pictures and busts of others, he vindicated the high independence of his art, and so learned a critic as Mr. Wroth has observed that Pistrucci 'undoubtedly imparted to our coinage a distinction of style that had long been absent from it'.

Widespread enthusiasm for the spirit of the Antique breathed new life into such forms of art as intaglio-engraving and cameo-cutting, but unfortunately it rarely prompted anything more than the imitation or adaptation of ancient designs. The excellence of the few original portrait *intagli* of Edward Burch (c. 1730–c. 1814) and Nathaniel Marchant (1739–1816) arouses a regret that their time and talents were mainly dedicated to copying Hellenistic gems. Their admirable portraits taken from life and cast in glass paste have given James (1735–99) and William Tassie (1777–1860) a claim to the recognition of posterity, but it is probable that their more numerous imitations of antique gems formed in their own day the more profitable portion of their stock-in-trade. This was assuredly the case with Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95); and exquisite as are the fancy subjects and historical medallions, modelled in jasper ware, which issued from his pottery, it is impossible not to wish that his small series of contemporary portraits, so vivid in characterization and unique in their method of execution, was not greatly extended.

Since the publication of the first volume of this work the conditions for the study of English Historical Portraiture have in one direction become, and continue daily to become, less favourable. A new and peaceful field of art has been invaded by the greedy and dishonest hordes of *charlatan* journalism and the *haut brocantage*. Enormous prices, such as were formerly only given for old French works of art, are now to be had for English things of the same class. As a result a new race of vandals is busy stripping the panelling and fittings from our old houses ; and, along with the other accessories of what are known to Tottenham Court Road as 'period' rooms, portraits have also come in for attention. Not long since the writer was shown a magnificent gallery, recently added by American wealth to a celebrated Jacobean manor-house, lined with superb and authentic whole-lengths of the period to not one of which were the new owners able to attach an identification or a *provenance*. They had all been bought in Bond Street, merely for their decorative qualities. For every single portrait which remains in this country on these terms scores are deported. Possibly the former owners, in decent shame, bargain that the original names and habitations of these depatriated ancestors shall be concealed ; in any case the middlemen are, for obvious reasons, glad to entangle communications between vendors and purchasers. Egyptologists are perpetually lamenting the destruction of history caused by the tomb-looting of rapacious native dealers ; here we see depredations of a parallel kind being carried on in our midst. Although infinitely less deplorable, the breaking up in broad daylight of such collections as those from Rainham Hall and Sheffield Place—to name only two cases—is also in its way an historical calamity. The very loan exhibitions which in the past have done so much to instruct students have been accused, and not without justice, of affording dealers opportunities for inflating prices and negotiating changes of ownership. But when the identification and history of a portrait has been recorded, the

mischief is not so serious, and is, in fact, as it always has been, inevitable. In the face of this state of things there is much consolation in reflecting on the foresight which founded the three National Portrait Galleries before the present fashion set in, and on the security of the great collections of the Crown and Public Bodies which sacrilegious hands can never disperse.

This fashion and the considerable financial interests involved have contributed also to increase the literature of the subject, especially in its artistic aspects. Careless to seek or baffled in attempting to recover the identification of the subject, the owners have learnt, from the traffickers in Old Masters, how easy and how profitable it is to provide a picture with an author. It is becoming worth while for the pseudo-Morellianism, with its pontifical nonsense and puerile squabbling, to extend its attentions to the field of our National Portraiture.

Amongst much that is of ephemeral interest, a great deal of permanent value has been published. All the famous masters of the golden era, engravers as well as painters, and very many of the secondary artists as well, have been made the subjects of monographs, often sumptuously illustrated. So numerous are these that it is impracticable to give even a list of them here. Of the books dealing with the subject as a whole the most imposing is Mr. M. H. Spielmann's *British Portrait Painting to the Opening of the Nineteenth Century* (1910). In this work an odd idea of omitting the lives and works of the great foreign masters who made English portraiture what it was, has been carried out. A veritable tragedy of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark, the result is, it must be confessed, somewhat meaningless. A carefully selected and magnificently reproduced series of illustrations gives the book a value of its own. Following this appeared Mr. C. H. Collins Baker's two substantial quartos on *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters* (1912), a useful compilation containing some valuable material in tabular form and a few important discoveries, unfortu-

nately mixed up with a great quantity of loose conjecture on the lines of what is called morphological analysis or scientific connoisseurship. In the abundant illustrations to these volumes the author has opened the immense, and hitherto almost unexplored, stores of portraits in some of the great English country houses, and provided students who are on their guard to sift his frequently very speculative attributions and identifications with a world of fresh and stimulating materials.

The contents of these treasure-houses are gradually being made further available for study by the publication of illustrated catalogues. Amongst several issued in recent years it is scarcely invidious to single out the *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor at Longford Castle*, by Helen Countess of Radnor and Mr. Barclay Squire—particularly the second volume, which describes the family portraits—as the model of what such a work should be. Far less sumptuous in form, but not less thoughtfully planned and accurately executed, the first volume of the *Catalogue of Portraits in the Possession of the University and Colleges of Oxford* (1912), by Mrs. R. L. Poole, is equally perfect in its way. The Rev. E. Farrer, in his *Portraits in Suffolk Houses (West)* (1908), has, by laborious and minute application in attacking one corner of the gigantic task, not only given actual evidence of the practicability and utility of making a complete inventory of all English portraits, but has at the same time unearthed much information of general interest. The admirably illustrated articles on ‘English Homes’ originally published in the columns of *Country Life*, and afterwards in book form, have also incidentally provided the student of iconography with some valuable suggestions.

Possibly the most indispensable single contribution to knowledge has been supplied by the publication of the *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits in the British Museum*, by Mr. F. O’Donoghue (four volumes, 1908–14), a work which is truly a master-key to a highly important aspect of the subject.

The catalogue of the Exhibition Illustrative of Early English Portraiture, held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1909, contains an introduction by Mr. Lionel Cust which really marks a fresh epoch in the progress of these studies. The same must be said of a paper by the same author on the Painter H. E. in the second volume of the Walpole Society, 1912-13, and of another on Marcus Gheeraerts in the third volume. The invaluable *Catalogue of the Miniatures belonging to the Duke of Portland*, issued by the same Society in 1914-15, is remarkable as the very first attempt to treat this branch of iconography in an exactly scientific spirit, and makes the student regret that the bounds prescribed by his task alone prevented the compiler—Mr. R. W. Goulding—from wiping out the reproach that the only comprehensive and trustworthy survey of the whole field must still be sought in a German handbook, L. Schidlöf's *Die Bildnisminiatur in Frankreich, &c.* (1911). The timely appearance of Mr. Goulding's work and the necessity for a wider application of the judicious scepticism which it teaches have been accentuated by the exhibition, through the generosity of the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl Beauchamp, of their celebrated collections of miniatures in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The National Loan Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, 1913-14, was remarkable for the astonishing number of masterpieces of the eighteenth-century school never before exhibited, which the organizer, Mr. Francis Howard, succeeded in getting together, and, within the limits set, may be said to have challenged a comparison with the great *Mostra del Ritratto Italiano, 1600-1861*, held at Florence in 1911. This, doubtless the most important exhibition of portraits since the famous displays in London in 1866-8, must, if only for its reflected interest on English iconographical researches, not be forgotten here.

A survey of the *Mostra*, at least of that portion of it which covered the period of the present volumes, was assuredly not calculated to humble the chauvinistic pride of an Englishman in the

great school of Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Lawrence. It showed that, apart from Ghislandi, whose pictures generally partake of the nature of *quadri di fantasia* and are only rarely remarkable for iconographic interest, Tiepolo in his rare portraits, and Alessandro Longhi at his very best, the Italian painters of the eighteenth century, blown this way and that by gusts of French and English fashion, were equal only to producing more or less successful *pasticci* of foreign themes. The pillars of academicism, Battoni and even Mengs, would never, on the strength of their painting alone, have attracted much attention in London. In France, again, during the century which elapsed between the death of Watteau and the appearance of Delacroix's 'Dante and Virgil' in the Salon of 1822, the actual portraits, by-products of the supreme masters Chardin and Fragonard, do not make a very great show even when the unsurpassable pastels of Peronneau and Latour are added to them ; for no broad-minded French critic will contend that the enchanting rouged nymphs and dashing warriors *bien poudrés* of Boucher and Nattier are to be placed in the highest rank of portraiture, or that the fame of David and Prudhon could be supported on their portraits alone, superb as these are. In Spain there was only the mighty, outstanding phenomenon Goya. In Germany the art-loving court of Saxony attracted Rosalba and most of the better Italians in turn, and produced in Graff a tolerable copyist of their style ; for the rest a few inferior Frenchmen such as Pesne, with some deplorable native imitators, were sufficient to satisfy the artistic aspirations of the small courts. J. H. W. Tischbein alone is remembered outside his native country on account of the connexions he formed while in Italy with the circles of Goethe and the Hamiltons. At the Russian court, French, Italian, and English painters, all of secondary merit, were welcomed and employed ; and the earliest native portraitists, such as Lévitzy and Borovikovsky, although they form an interesting group, do not possess great artistic significance.

The causes which have brought about the great flowering-times of art remain inscrutable. The ascendancy of tyranny and of democracy have equally been pronounced by philosophers the necessary cause of the favourable conjunction of circumstances. In all other countries portrait-painting relied principally for its sustenance on the patronage of courts, but in the England of the eighteenth century the fine taste diffused everywhere, in the design of a great palace like Somerset House or Kedleston Hall as in that of the most trifling toy issued from Boulton's works at Soho, and shining with particular brilliancy in the portraiture of the time, seems mainly attributable to the prosperity and cultivation of the middle classes of the community. Certain it is that the rise of industrialism and the process of political and educational levelling down which set in during the second quarter of the last century was not accompanied by artistic activity in any way comparable to that of the preceding less socially agitated epoch. From one cause or another the arts lost the consciousness of their own self-sufficiency, the scent, as it were, which had kept them in the direct path of progress. In this moment of uncertainty the invention of photography dealt a blow to portraiture which deflected its whole course; but the effect of this did not become fully evident until after the middle of the century, and lies, accordingly, outside the bounds of the present essay.

GEORGE I

(1660-1727)

was sprung from that Lüneburg branch of the House of Brunswick which, at the date of his birth, was divided into several lines. His father Ernest Augustus, called the ' Gentleman of Germany ', a polite, splendid, and immoral person, held at first only the ' bishopric ' of Osnabrück, but in 1679 succeeded to the Duchy of Hanover, and before his death was recognized as ' Elector ' of the same (1692). This gave him a seat in the first ' College ' of the Imperial Diet. In 1658 this same Ernest had married Sophia, the youngest child of Elizabeth, ' Queen of Bohemia ', daughter of our James I. George Lewis was the eldest of their six sons ; Sophia Charlotte, afterwards first Queen of Prussia, was their daughter. George could speak French, Italian, and Latin, but he never learned or tried to learn English. He was a brave young man in battle, fought steadily on the Imperial side, and especially distinguished himself at the relief of Vienna by John Sobieski in 1683. Phlegmatic courage and coolness in all peril or excitement were his most marked characteristics. He came to England in 1680 and courted the Princess Anne, and on a visit to Oxford in the following spring he had the opportunity of studying the game of Parliamentary Government as played between his cousin Charles and his own future subjects. Anne eventually took a less forbidding, less saturnine, if also less intelligent, George, the Prince of Denmark. George of Hanover married in 1682 his own first cousin, Sophia Dorothea of Celle or Zell, who bore him two children, the future George II, and the future Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia, mother of Frederick the Great. The elder Sophia Dorothea came of

a light mother, and very probably was a light woman ; at all events in 1694 she was accused of an intrigue with a Swedish gentleman, Königsmark, and was sent into confinement in a castle for the remaining thirty-two years of her life. The lover, if lover he was, was murdered or made away with, quite probably, but not demonstrably, with the connivance of George, now ' Electoral Prince '. In 1698 Ernest died and George became Elector. In 1701 the Act of Settlement made him heir-presumptive to the throne of Great Britain. As Elector, George seems to have been pulled in two directions in foreign politics : one way by a desire to extend the frontier of his own territory to the North, at the expense of one or other, or all three, of the Baltic Powers, and the other way by his strong feeling of loyalty to the Empire. It was the second of these ideas that made him such a keen supporter of the Grand Alliance and of Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession. There was even talk of his being placed at the head of this alliance after the death of William III. The large Hanoverian contingent in Marlborough's army did most excellent service, and founded that long-lasting tie between itself and the British Army which, hated and scorned by successive ' Oppositions ' in Great Britain, gave us after 1803 the magnificent and welcome service of the ' King's German Legion '. George held for two years the independent command of the Imperial Army on the Upper Rhine, but he did little with it and was sulkily jealous of Prince Eugene. From the date of his resignation of that office in 1709, fears from France being now nearly at an end, his Northern interests absorbed him more and more, and he became set on annexing Bremen and Verden, the spoils of the crumbling monarchy of Sweden, to his Electorate. This was not likely to be a popular policy in England, if George should ever become King there, and the event proved that it was not ; but the dogged Elector got his way in the long run, and the pacification of the North in 1721 left the two duchies in Hanoverian hands.

The death of his mother Sophia in June 1714 left George heir-apparent, if Acts of Parliament could make an heir, to Great Britain ;



GEORGE I

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

the death of Anne on August 1 made him King. He had already nominated Lords-Justices-Regent to act for him in this event, and so he did not hurry to take possession of his throne ; but he set out on August 31, and landed at Greenwich three weeks later. A very unfavourable picture of his Court, of his habits, his mistresses and his manners, but one not so unfavourable to his character, is given by Mary Wortley Montagu : ‘ In private life he would have been called an honest blockhead ; . . . no man was ever more free from ambition ; he loved money, but loved to keep his own without being rapacious of other men’s ; . . . he was more properly dull than lazy, and would have been so well contented to have remained at Hanover, that, if the ambitions of those about him had not been greater than his own, we should never have seen him here ; and the natural honesty of his temper, joined with the narrow notions of a low education, made him look upon his acceptance of the crown as an act of usurpation, which was always uneasy to him.’ She also notices his bitter hatred of his son ; this was founded on the fact that Prince George, when he grew up, took his mother’s part and wished for her release. Lady Mary underrated the King’s solid intelligence and dogged character. But there is little doubt that his lack of manners and his cold sardonic character made a bad impression upon his new subjects ; he made no effort to be pleasant, and perhaps a man of fifty-four years of age could not be expected to change his habits. An even worse impression was made by the rapacity of his Hanoverian courtiers and ‘ ladies ’, to whom the whole thing was a game of grab. In his last years his statue in Grosvenor Square was pulled down and broken, and the perpetrators of the outrage were never discovered. It was eminently characteristic of George that he insisted on, and carried through, in his first Parliament, the repeal of the one clause of the Act of Settlement which seriously affected him, namely, that which forbade him to leave his new kingdom without consent of Parliament. To get back to Hanover as soon and as often as possible was his fixed idea ; of his thirteen years’ reign he spent about half in his old home. In one matter of

English politics he showed admirable good sense ; from 1721 onwards he fixed on Walpole as the best Minister he could find, loyally supported him in the teeth of opposition, and left affairs of State pretty much in his hands. Being unable to understand English, he, first of sovereigns, ceased to preside at his Council-board, and hence arose our curious system of government by a ' Cabinet ' of Ministers. Walpole often supped with the King and maintained that he was ' good company over a bowl ', but their conversation must have been hampered by the fact that neither could speak any language known to the other except Latin, and George's Latin is not likely to have been up to Walpole's Eton standard.

George had a stroke of some kind on his journey to Hanover in 1727 and died at Osnabrück.

JAMES STANHOPE

FIRST EARL STANHOPE

(1673-1721)

soldier, diplomatist, and, against his own will, Minister of State, was grandson of the royalist Earl of Chesterfield. He was at Eton and Trinity, Oxford, and learned the Spanish language as a boy, while his father was for a time our Ambassador at Madrid (1690). He entered the Army in 1691, and fought gallantly under King William in Flanders, and under Peterborough and Galway in Spain, in that tangled series of campaigns which even Mr. Fortescue has hardly been able to make interesting, 1705-10. While fighting, Stanhope also held the post of British Minister at the Spanish Court of the Prince whom we tried to call ' Charles III of Spain '. Stanhope distinguished himself on every occasion, either of victory or defeat, in the Peninsula ;



JAMES, FIRST EARL STANHOPE

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery]
Painter unknown



CHARLES, SECOND VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND, K.G.,

From the portrait painted in the school of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in
the National Portrait Gallery

especially at Barcelona, 1705-6; Almanza, 1707; the capture of Minorca (all his own work), 1708; Almenara, Saragossa, 1710; the defence of Brihuega, 1710; at the last of these he was made prisoner. Always during the war his advice had been to push on to Madrid; always he was thwarted by the slowness of his Austrian ally and the watchful hostility of the Castilian peasantry, who felt that the cause of King Philip was the cause of national independence. The English were in fact in this (their second) taste of a 'Peninsular War' in the same position as they were to find their enemies the French in the (third or great) Peninsular War (1808-13); namely, endeavouring to force a foreign king upon a patriotic nation in a land whose geography and lack of resources baffled all strategic calculations.

Stanhope was much attacked in Parliament by the foolish Tory Government of the last years of Anne, but, as he shared this honour with Marlborough, he is not discredited thereby. More than any one else, by his swift and active military measures he secured the peaceable accession of King George; Marlborough may have been half-hearted (or broken-hearted), and so Stanhope was the only great soldier the Whigs had; and he sternly repressed the legitimist insurrection of 1715 in the North. But he was not vindictive like the greedy Hanoverian courtiers; Sir Francis Doyle's fine poem tells us how he successfully interceded for the life of his old schoolfellow Nairn, who had been condemned to death after the Rising. Stanhope's next triumph, as Secretary of State, was the *entente* with the Regent of France, a system directed against Spain and the Jacobites, in 1716. Then he was tempted by Sunderland into accepting the First Lordship of the Treasury on the resignation of Townshend and Walpole, 1717. He brought to the office a bluff soldierly vigour and honesty, but no head either for financial or Parliamentary management. His Ministry was, however, sound on foreign affairs, and he had the satisfaction of pulverizing the schemes of Russia as well as those of Spain, the former by the threat, the latter by the effective use (at Cape Passaro) of the English fleet. In home politics he tried by his Peerage Bill to make

the House of Lords a close oligarchy ; he repealed the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, and would have liked to repeal the Test Act ; and, though his ignorance of finance absolves him from all complicity, he passed early in 1720 the Bill which practically amalgamated the Government Stock with that of the South Sea Company. He held none of the Stock himself, nor ever gambled on the Stock Exchange ; but his brother Ministers did, and his own sudden death early in 1721 probably saved him from the disgrace and ruin that fell upon his colleagues.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND

SECOND VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND

(1674-1738)

statesman and agriculturist, was the son of a royalist Norfolk baronet who had got a peerage for the assistance he lent to the Restoration of Charles II. He was at Eton and King's, and was a very early friend of his neighbour, Robert Walpole ; he succeeded to his peerage before the Revolution, and was a stout Whig all his life. He went as Ambassador to Holland in 1709, and was one of the Lords-Justices-Regent on the death of Anne. George I at once made him Secretary of State, and he was an active persecutor of the Jacobites in and after the rising of 1715. But he was too honest a man to keep long on good terms with the Hanoverian clique which surrounded our new German king, and Sunderland early in 1717 persuaded George to dismiss him ; Walpole resigned immediately afterwards. Townshend was re-admitted to office (the Presidency of the Council) in 1720, and on Stanhope's death early in 1721 again became Secretary of State ; the King was then once more in the hands of the ' firm of Townshend and

Walpole'. This firm succeeded in ousting their brilliant colleague Carteret from the Ministry and from royal favour in 1724, but when Carteret was gone signs of a split between the heads of the firm themselves began to appear. From the marvellous tangles and twistings of the so-called foreign policy of the Great Powers of Europe between 1720 and 1730, Townshend hoped to evolve some stable system of alliances for Great Britain; Walpole wished for no system, and preferred to live, so to speak, from hand to mouth; it is not easy to say which was the wiser policy at the time. Townshend's Treaty of Hanover, between England, France, and Prussia, 1725, promised well but left Austria and Spain very sore; Walpole wanted to conciliate every one—at least to such extent as would avoid his one bugbear, a serious foreign war. Both these Ministers and their Kings, George I and II, were ready to buy off Spanish wrath with the cession of Gibraltar. Walpole ultimately triumphed over his rival; to a dynasty, which, though we are apt to forget the fact, was not only ludicrously unpopular, but in constant danger of being actually overturned, Walpole, the financier and manager of Parliament, was indispensable; no one else was indispensable. He and Townshend were brothers-in-law, and the death of Lady Townshend, Walpole's sister, certainly contributed to the dissolution of their partnership. Each was stubborn, each may fairly be called honest and patriotic; but if Walpole was less of the gentleman than Townshend, he was infinitely farther-sighted, infinitely the greater man. Townshend therefore resigned office, and went to his estate of Rainham to grow turnips and clover. He began the 'four-course system of husbandry', in which these useful roots and grasses were to play so great a part. Never to take two successive corn-crops off the same field became his rule; and he also reintroduced the ancient practice of spreading marl upon the land. In his retirement, it may be fairly argued, he was of more service to his country than during his active political life.

CHARLES SPENCER

THIRD EARL OF SUNDERLAND

(1674-1722)

politician, very nearly deserving to be ranked as a statesman, was the son of the famous traitor and turncoat of the reigns of James II and William III. His mother was the daughter of that George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, whose career during the Civil War was nearly as tortuous as that of Sunderland after it. In the reign of William, Charles Spencer sat in the House of Commons on the Whig side, and married Marlborough's beautiful and clever daughter Anne in 1700. He succeeded to his father's earldom two years later, was a Commissioner for the Union with Scotland, and was the first Whig to be forced as Minister upon Queen Anne (in 1706), as Secretary of State. His advent also marked the beginning of the change from Tory to Whig in the policy of his father-in-law Marlborough, a change which, however, was neither complete nor natural, and was largely the result of his Duchess's quarrel with the Queen. With the fall of the Whigs in 1710 Sunderland was dismissed and was in danger of impeachment, but it was characteristic of the meanness of the man that he soon made some sort of terms with the Tories, even to the extent of voting in the Lords in favour of the Occasional Conformity Bill, which, under King George, he was the first to get repealed. In the succession of this King all his hopes were placed, and he was in close communication with the Court of Hanover from 1710, if not earlier; he was proportionately vexed when he was not named one of the Lords-Justices-Regent to act upon Anne's death, and when the only office King George at first offered him was the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. But in 1716-17 he managed to wheedle himself into the King's confidence by favouring his foreign policy; soon afterwards Walpole and Townshend fell, and Sunderland and Stanhope (who was already Secretary



CHARLES SPENCER, THIRD EARL OF SUNDERLAND
From the portrait by Jonathan Richardson belonging to the
Earl Spencer, K.G.



WILLIAM PULTENEY, FIRST EARL OF BATH
From the portrait by Sir J. Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

of State) took their places (1717-18). It was now that Addison, who was already a *protégé* of Sunderland's, became Under-Secretary of State. Sunderland's failure to get his favourite Peerage Bill through the Commons (1719) should have showed him his weakness; his more than questionable dealings on behalf of the Government with the South Sea Company revealed his dishonesty. Popular clamour was for once right in demanding several scapegoats, of whom Sunderland, who had to resign the Treasury in 1721, was the first. It is usually believed that Walpole cleverly screened him from actual prosecution; Walpole could now afford to be magnanimous to a foe so utterly beaten and discredited. Just a year after his fall Sunderland died. The best thing that can be said of him is that he was not such a knave as his father; perhaps also to less dishonesty he added less natural ability. He was a great collector of books, and his second son, the fifth Earl of Sunderland, became by right of his mother the third Duke of Marlborough.

WILLIAM PULTENEY

EARL OF BATH

(1684-1764)

politician, the son of a rich London merchant, was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and was a very considerable scholar and wit. He entered Parliament early in Anne's reign and married an heiress; for he loved money more than power and even more than Greek. His first minor office was in 1714; he stuck tight to Walpole, in and out of place, till 1721; but he then quarrelled with him because Walpole did not give him what he wanted. Pulteney was an ill fellow to quarrel with; and, to prove it, he and Bolingbroke established in 1726 the newspaper called the *Craftsman*, which existed only to lampoon

and slander Sir Robert. Into their alliance were at one time or another swept all the elements of the Opposition ; and, without in any way wishing to defend Walpole's system of government or the means by which he bolstered it up, one may safely say that no Opposition more unscrupulous or more devoid of principle ever existed. It was also divided in itself ; none of its leaders were real friends of each other. Pulteney himself for a time tried the other tack, conciliation ; and Walpole, always placable, allowed himself to be conciliated. But Pulteney soon tired of this, and at last in 1742 succeeded in overthrowing his enemy. Then, to the astonishment of the King and every one else, he refused to take office, but held an unofficial seat in Wilmington's Cabinet, and a month or two afterwards got the Earldom of Bath.

Unheard of let him slumber there,
 As innocent as any peer,
 As fit for any job ;
 For now he's popular no more,
 And lost the power he had before
 And his best friends—the mob.

So Hanbury Williams ; and the acceptance of the peerage was certainly the death-blow to Pulteney's popularity.

Bath must have been a source of great weakness to Carteret in his Ministry, but, when that fell and Pelham succeeded, he remained fairly quiet till 1746. Then, when Pelham and Newcastle suddenly resigned their offices in order to force George II to include Mr. Pitt, the King turned to Bath ; and again the miserable fellow failed to rise to the occasion, though Carteret (now Earl Granville) was his friend and would have been a tower of strength to him. Pulteney took no further part in public affairs, but wrote several pamphlets on politics.

Personal motives were ever the first consideration in Pulteney's mind. He used to explain his two ' great refusals ' by alleging that, in the heat of debate with Walpole, he had once pledged himself ' never to accept office ' ; but every one who knows eighteenth-century politics will estimate such a pledge at its real worth. Shelburne in

his autobiography is extremely severe on him : ‘ If he ever had any talents for administration he must have lost them in the years of the nonsense of a nonsensical opposition. He was the greatest House of Commons orator that had ever appeared ; with a sharp cutting wit both in and out of the House . . . He never did any good, nor attempted any, but he did a great deal of mischief by dint of clamour and abuse ’ ; and he goes on to tell two stories of Pulteney’s hopeless inability to face a crisis.

Mr. Lecky quotes Coxe to the effect that Lord Bath ‘ shortened his life by drink ’ ; this may be true (though he lived eighty years), but he had another master passion which is usually believed to be a stimulus to longevity—avarice.

CHARLES TALBOT DUKE OF SHREWSBURY

(1660–1718)

twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury, was the son of the eleventh Earl and of that Countess Anne who eloped with the second Duke of Buckingham, and saw him kill her husband. He was brought up a Catholic, but was converted in 1679 by Tillotson ; unstable in religion, he was to prove no less unstable in politics. In the reign of James he intrigued with the Prince of Orange, signed the ‘ Letter of Invitation ’ in the summer of 1688, and was to all appearance a stalwart Revolution Whig. He was William’s Secretary of State, 1689–90, and again, 1694–99. At what date he began to protect himself against a possible restoration of James is uncertain, but it was probably at least as early as 1691 ; his wicked mother had always been a Jacobite, and no doubt influenced her son to these intrigues. Shrewsbury was raised to a dukedom by William

when he took the seals for the second time. William almost certainly knew of his Secretary's treachery with Saint-Germain, and it is of course possible to maintain the theory that the King not only authorized but encouraged it ; but the fact that the Duke kept himself largely away from London and did very little of the work of his office looks suspicious. In 1700 he departed from England, visited France, and finally established himself in Rome, 1701-4. He did not become again a Catholic, but he married in Germany in 1705 an Italian Catholic wife, who renounced her faith on her marriage. He returned to England in 1707, but kept steadily aloof from Whigs and Tories alike, until about 1710, when Harley drew him over to the latter party. He was then successively made Lord Chamberlain, Ambassador to France, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; but, with characteristic timidity, he began to intrigue with George at Hanover at the very time of his rallying to a Tory Ministry, which was believed to be by no means enthusiastic at the prospect of George's accession to the British Crown. Every one knows how, when Anne lay dying and Bolingbroke wanted but a few weeks to arrange for the succession of King James, the Whig Lords of the Council forced their way into her presence, towing the Duke of Shrewsbury with them, July 30, 1714. Whether willingly or unwillingly, Anne was persuaded to thrust into his nerveless hands the ' white staff ' which was the symbol of the Lord Treasurer's office. Those who made this use of the Duke probably reflected that, if he was a Whig, it was all for the best ; if he was at heart a Jacobite, they could easily get rid of him or terrorize him. Very possibly the Duke himself did not know on that day to which party he belonged, but, having accepted the office, which no man after him ever held alone, he accepted King George also, resigned the Irish Viceroyalty, and contented himself with the Chamberlainship ; even this trivial post he soon gave up. After such a vacillating career it helps him but little to record that he was a man of great personal charm and of many accomplishments.



JAMES OGILVY, FIRST EARL OF SEAFIELD

From an engraving by J. Smith after a portrait
by Sir Godfrey Kneller



WILLIAM PATERSON

From a drawing in the British Museum



DUNCAN FORBES, OF CULLODEN

From the portrait, after Jeremiah Davison,
in the National Portrait Gallery



CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF
SHREWSBURY, K.G.

From the portrait, painted in the School of
Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the National Portrait Gallery

WILLIAM PATERSON

(1658-1719)

was born in Dumfriesshire of farming stock. At a very early age he migrated, or was taken, to England, and seems to have resided in his youth at Bristol. Nothing certain is known of his life before the Revolution except that he was engaged in speculative commerce and had visited the West Indies, Holland, and perhaps North America. He was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and, at the date of the Revolution, had acquired a considerable fortune and maintained financial connexions in several quarters of the globe. In 1691 he came forward, for the first time so far as we know, as a Company-promoter on the grand scale, and the Company, which three years later he successfully floated, for lending money to the embarrassed Government of William III, has become the 'Bank of England'. Paterson's second famous venture, the establishment of a Scottish trading colony under the name of the 'Scottish Africa and India Company', which culminated in the fiasco of Darien and brought temporary ruin on a large part of Scotland, was such a complete failure that attempts have been made to question Paterson's honesty as well as his genius for finance, and to deny him credit for founding the Bank of England. In an age of speculation, which trusted much and believed more, an age whose beliefs were based upon very uncertain knowledge of the necessary limitations of credit, Paterson seems to have turned not unreasonably to project after project; if he gained largely by some he lost heavily by others; his own hands were quite clean, and he died a comparatively poor man. It must be admitted that he leaned much to novelties, and was occasionally somewhat inconstant in following up his projects in the face of difficulties; for instance, he remained for only one year a Director of the Bank of England. But his own favourite scheme for a Scottish colony in some distant country he never abandoned until the Union threw all English

markets open to Scotsmen. Mr. Andrew Lang has proved that, if such a scheme were absurd, the English Government, which finally wrecked it, had been quite eager to anticipate the Scots in furthering a similar scheme in the place selected—Darien itself. Paterson at least sailed with his own Darien colonists in 1698, shared their sufferings and lost his health, and for a time even his reason, in consequence of their failure. He was trusted by William III, who had been obliged to thwart this scheme, no less than by the Scottish Parliament, many of whose members had been hard hit by it. He was in the confidence of several successive Governments after that date, and was actively engaged in promoting the Parliamentary Union between England and Scotland. He was interested in projects for supplying water to London, for inaugurating a Sinking Fund, for establishing a Public Library ; and, although from his governmental connexions we may suppose him to have passed as a Whig, he was, in common with the more enlightened Tories of that age, at heart a free-trader.

JAMES OGILVY

FIRST EARL OF SEAFIELD

(1664–1730)

Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, was the son of James Ogilvie, third Earl of Findlater, akin to the great house of Airlie, and of Anne Montgomery. His career was a curiously interesting one, for he entered the Scots Parliament towards the end of the reign of Charles II, sat in it until the Union, and then sat in the United Parliament as a representative peer until the death of George I. It is easy to represent him as a pliant unscrupulous person who clung to the winning side throughout, and this is in fact the character given of him by the honest Jacobite laird, Lockhart of Carnwath. But it is also possible to regard him as a man who cared little for the parties in the State, and

saw in the close connexion with England the best chance for the prosperity and development of his own country ; as playing, in fact, the part of a mediator in all that stormy time. He at least cared little for popularity, and lost it plentifully by protesting from the beginning against the Darien scheme ; afterwards he showed cynical indifference when the Edinburgh mob broke his windows because he supported the Union. He was a highly trained lawyer, and made an excellent High Commissioner, whether of Parliament or of the General Assembly. As Chancellor, to which office he was appointed in the first, and again in the third year of Anne, he presided over the Commission for the Union, and it was he who, when the Act had been touched with the sceptre, locked the doors of the old Parliament House with the pathetic witticism, ‘ There is an end of an auld sang.’ Yet it is characteristic of his career that, when in the last year of Anne there was a motion in the United Parliament for repeal of the Union, Lord Seafield energetically supported it ; for he saw that, for the time at any rate, Scotland had made a bad bargain. When, as Chancellor, he occasionally presided in the Court of Session he was an upright and a distinguished judge.

DUNCAN FORBES

(1685–1747)

Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, was the second son of Duncan Forbes of Culloden and Mary Innes. The family was staunch Whig, and Duncan, who was bred to the law in Edinburgh and Leyden, raised forces to support the Hanoverian cause in 1715, and helped to rescue the town of Inverness from the Jacobites. He was made Depute-Advocate for his services on that occasion, but was known to be much averse to changing the venue of the trial of the Jacobite prisoners from Scotland to England. On the strength of this publicly expressed opinion he has been credited with a well-known

anonymous letter to the English Government, which was found among the 'Culloden Papers' preserved at his home in Inverness-shire, but there is no proof that he was the writer of it. He sat in Parliament in 1722-37, and in 1725 became Lord Advocate. In 1735 he succeeded his brother in the estate of Culloden, and two years later became Lord President. He was the right arm of the Whig Government at the date of the Highland rising of 1745, and bent all his efforts in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon to save the north of Scotland while Edinburgh was held by Charles Edward; he was flouted by the Duke of Cumberland, and treated with great ingratitude by the Government in whose service he had worn himself out.

He was an excellent judge, and a true Scottish patriot, distinguished for his humanity to all, and especially to those unfortunate gentlemen who differed from him in politics; during the long period of Walpole's Government, which was conspicuous for its contemptuous treatment of Scotland, he and Lord Islay (afterwards third Duke of Argyll), while upholding the law, spared no pains to mitigate its harshness, and to render the Union as little unacceptable as it could be rendered to a country infinitely sore at its loss of independence, in which, too, the embers of old family feuds still smouldered.

ANDREW FLETCHER

(1653-1716)

statesman, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, or Salton, East Lothian, and Innerpeffer, and of Catherine Bruce, a descendant of King Robert I's grandfather. Andrew's grandfather had been one of the four Scottish patriots who alone protested against the sale of King Charles to the English Parliament in 1646; but the family was originally from Yorkshire.

Fletcher was a man of 'low stature and sallow complexion', but of an erudition and experience quite unusual among the Scottish statesmen of his day; he was of a 'fiery and uncontrollable temper', lived in his youth through many adventures, and died one of the pioneers of that progressive school of husbandry which was to make bleak East Lothian into the garden of Scotland. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, for all his indiscretion and self-importance a man of keen zest for learning and a most enlightened thinker, was minister of Salton parish when Fletcher's father died in 1664, and he became the boy's tutor; yet it was less from Burnet than from his own reading and reflection that Fletcher took on his unusual political creed, expressed, first, in opposition to Lauderdale's and the Duke of York's high-handed measures in Scotland, against which he had the courage to protest in Parliament, 1678-82; and later, in his series of great speeches in the debates concerning the Union, 1703-7: 'If we may live free, I little value who is King; it is indifferent to me, provided the Limitations be enacted, to name or not name, Hanover, Saint-Germain, or whom you will.' Fletcher was in fact an aristocratic republican of the true old Roman type.

Forced to fly at the time of Argyll's condemnation, he escaped to the Low Countries, returned secretly to London, and was one of Russell's and Sidney's 'Council of Six' who were plotting for a

Republic ; he accompanied Monmouth to Lyme, but left him there in consequence of a quarrel with one of Monmouth's Taunton friends (who accused him of stealing his horse and was shot dead by the enraged Scotsman). Mr. Fletcher afterwards told the Earl Marischal that he left Monmouth willingly, because he perceived that he meant to make himself King, instead of declaring for a 'Free Parliament'. He escaped to Spain, was imprisoned there, escaped before he could be extradited, and wandered through the peninsula, apparently unmolested, and able to read and buy large quantities of books. He next went off to serve in the Emperor Leopold's Hungarian Army against the Turks, and returned just in time to join William of Orange in 1688. After the Revolution the attainder, which had naturally been passed upon him for Monmouth's rebellion, was reversed and his estates were restored ; he was one of the first patrons of Paterson, and embarked much money in the Darien Scheme. In 1698 appeared his (anonymous) pamphlet in favour of training the whole population to arms by compulsory service in the Militia ; a standing army was one of his favourite bugbears. And in the same year came his *Second Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland*, in which he grimly advocated the employment of able-bodied vagrants, of whom the number was beyond all reasonable proportion to the Scottish population of the day, as 'heritable servants', or (though he would not use the word) as slaves ; landowners were to be compelled to employ them as such. For this drastic measure Fletcher could point to some precedents in old Scots law, as well as to the example of ancient Rome. It was, however, in the early years of Anne that he made Great Britain ring with his name. He was the author of the first refusal of supplies by the Scottish Parliament (1703), of the 'Act of Security', and of the 'Limitations'—all drafted with the object of limiting the power of the Crown and of preserving the independence of the Scottish Parliament ; and all obtaining their force from the important fact that Scotland was in no way legally compellable to accept, after Anne's decease, the King who should come to the English Crown. Fletcher's speeches obtained



ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN
From the portrait belonging to the Earl of Stair

notoriety from the facts that he was in the habit of epitomizing and publishing them, and that they showed a much higher level of argument and political knowledge, derived from their author's very extensive reading and study of classical models, than was common in his day. He is the author of, among other weighty statements, the witty apophthegm that it 'matters much more who makes the ballads of a nation than who makes its laws'. By such means Fletcher fought against the Union to the end; but *victrix causa diis placuit*. The result was that Saint-Germain, whose cause was, after all, largely dependent on the national spirit of Scotland, believed that it might rely upon this sturdy Republican, and Fletcher even suffered a short arrest in 1708 on suspicion of Jacobitism. In his later years he introduced from Holland the practices of grinding barley by mills, instead of the old 'knocking stones', and of winnowing corn-crops by fanners instead of the operation of the wind alone.

Fletcher was neither Whig nor Tory, and scorned party names as he scorned 'connexions', 'squadrons', 'bonds', and all the political juggling of the last days of the 'Old Song'; he distrusted all monarchies and monarchs, and, as Mr. Graham well puts it, 'disagreed with most people and things, and was always most decidedly of his own opinion.' But he loved Scotland with a passionate and reasoned affection.

FRANCIS CHERRY

(1665 ?-1713)

High on a wall in the Bodleian, 'skied' where it can hardly be seen, much less realized, hangs the portrait of a man, very handsome, to whom the University owes much.

Francis Cherry, the Nonjuror (1665 ?-1713), deserves well of Oxford for having given the University the service of Thomas Hearne, the historical antiquary who was the Wormius of the *Dunciad*. When tradition has recorded Cherry's beauty, it is a hardship that the pious gift of his daughter Anne to his University recording that handsome appearance should not be held in esteem.

A stout Nonjuror, Cherry would not acknowledge William and Mary, and when he found that William was following him pretty closely in stag-hunting, he suddenly leaped his horse down a steep and dangerous bank into the Thames, hoping that 'the usurper' would follow him and break his neck; but the King turned away. Again, Cherry would not acknowledge Anne as his sovereign, and so the first day she drove to the hunt after she became Queen he kept away from her. Anne asked Peachey, her 'bottle-man', if that were not Mr. Cherry in the distance, and when he replied that it was, she said, 'Aye, he will not come to me now; I know the reason. But go you and carry him a couple of bottles of red wine and white from me, and tell him that I esteem him one of the honestest gentlemen in my dominions.' True to his principles, Cherry bade Peachey express his humble respects and best thanks to 'his mistress'.

A man of learning and critical ability himself, Cherry encouraged these gifts in others more than he expressed them himself. Discovering the talents of Thomas Hearne, the son of the parish clerk of White Waltham, near his own beautiful home at Shottesbrooke in Berkshire, Cherry put the boy to school, took him to live in his own house, helped



FRANCIS CHERRY

From the portrait, probably by W. Sonmans,
belonging to the Bodleian Library



WILLIAM DAMPIER, CAPT. R.N.

From the portrait by Thomas Murray in the
National Portrait Gallery



WILLIAM PENN

From an ivory relief by Sylvanus Bevan belonging to
Mrs. Alfred Waterhouse



GEORGE WHITEFIELD

From the portrait by John Woollaston in the
National Portrait Gallery

him in his studies, and supplied him with money until he had taken his M.A. degree. To Hearne he was always 'my best friend and patron'. At Shottesbrooke, which was the Tusculum of the Non-jurors, he often welcomed Bishop Ken ; Dodwell he settled in a house near his own ; Nelson was his constant guest ; while Leslie he concealed for a time in disguise (he sometimes, it is said, even 'wore regimentals'), and then sent him to Rome to convert the exiled king. James assured Leslie of his unalterable attachment to his own faith, and sent Cherry a ring in token of his regard. At Cherry's house first Gilbert and then Brokesby held prayers twice daily : at the same time Cherry lived on friendly terms with White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, to whom he had given the living of Shottesbrooke, the church lying just across his garden. Truly if there were Squire Westerns in those days, there were also Squire Allworthys in real life. Cherry was a fine specimen of the class which thrives nowhere so well as in England.

At Shottesbrooke he died, 'the idol of Berkshire', and in that churchyard lies his grave, bearing, in obedience to his wishes, no name, only the date of his death, and the words

Hic iacet peccatorum maximus.

WILLIAM DAMPIER

(1652-1715)

explorer and pirate, the son of a Somerset farmer, had an adventurous and variegated career. In his early years he was successively an able seaman in Charles II's second Dutch War, a steward in Jamaica, a mahogany-cutter in Central America, and a professional pirate. His first set of cruises in this last capacity occupied many years, and is described in the first volume of his *Voyages*, published in 1697. It is fairly evident that it was neither lust of gold nor lust of adventure that were the main attractions to Dampier, but the true *Wanderlust* of the explorer, and an enlightened curiosity, not only for strange lands, but for the secrets of winds, tides, and currents. He was a born pilot, hydrographer, and, if one might coin a word, anemographer. He had also an aversion to high latitudes, for he loved warmth ; it was really this aversion which turned him aside on his second (1699-1700) voyage from the exploration of the Australian continent, in which he had then a fair chance of anticipating Captain Cook by eighty years.

The log-books of pirates, if kept at all, are seldom trustworthy ; nor was Dampier ever in command of a ship during the first series of his cruises, 1679-1691, but in these years he worked his way round the globe, helped to sack towns and plunder ships in the Spanish main, was marooned on an island in the Indian Ocean, escaped to the Dutch East Indies, and did some trading there. After his return to Europe in 1691 we lose sight of him till the publication of his first volume six years later. His artless narrative and really high standard of knowledge on his particular subjects procured him patronage and some fame ; and in 1699 his *Discourse of Winds*, a book of true scientific value, brought him to the notice of the Admiralty, who gave him a ship and the title of Captain, with a commission to explore ' New Holland ', whose existence had long been known, but whose coasts had never been

mapped. Dampier made the west coast of the Australian continent in the summer of 1699, but then turned northward to New Guinea and discovered Torres Strait. He was obliged to abandon his ship at Ascension on the way back, and, after some weeks' stay there, came home in an East India vessel.

On his return in 1702 he was court-martialled for having oppressed his officers, and was heavily fined. But next year, war having broken out, he got command of a privateer and sailed round the Horn for the South Seas. His tendency to quarrel with his subordinates was again manifested ; it was on this voyage that Alexander Selkirk was marooned at Juan Fernandez ; mutiny, desertion, blows, and bad language were every-day occurrences on Dampier's ship, which also failed to do any real damage to Spanish colonies or trade, and was finally abandoned on the Peruvian coast ; Dampier and some of his men found their way to the Dutch colonies and got shut up in prison there ; when the Captain finally reached home in 1707 he had a pamphlet war with Mr. Funnell, his mate, concerning his behaviour during the voyage. It is at least to Dampier's credit that, on his next and last voyage, as pilot in Woodes Rogers's privateering cruise (1708-11) round the world, he picked up Selkirk and brought him home in time for him to become, under the name of ' Robinson Crusoe ', the hero of an Odyssey hardly inferior to Homer's. Dampier died in London in 1715. He had published, after his return from his second and third ventures, two narratives of his second voyage ; and a fourth volume, describing the third voyage, was afterwards added by Funnell.

WILLIAM PENN

(1644-1718)

colonist, was the son of Sir William Penn, the admiral of the Commonwealth and Restoration, who died in 1670, and of Margaret Jasper. He was born in London, educated privately under strong Puritan influences, and entered Christ Church in 1660. His first eleven years of manhood were divided between imprisonments for his attachment to the doctrines and observances of the Quakers (in favour of whom he wrote pamphlets) and the life of a gentleman of fashion. His father, a warm friend of the Duke of York, was usually able to procure his release from prison, and after the father's death the Duke's friendship was extended to the son. So much was this the case that from the time of Oates's plot, in which Penn quite disbelieved, accusations were often levelled against him of being a Popish spy. As a matter of fact Penn, as his own history clearly shows, though indifferent to forms of religion, was an ardent pietist who had been drawn to the Quakers only by their apparent piety. His character is admirably drawn by the late John Andrew Doyle: 'He had a singular catholicity of mind, a power of recognizing what was good in all men, an indifference to all external marks either of creed or station, and a kind and sympathetic temper. His religion was not a philosophy but a moral code.'

Penn was early interested in the affairs of the American colonies, but it was to some extent an accident of business which, in 1676, led to his becoming one of the trustees for the western half of our new colony of New Jersey, to which his first experiments, both in constitution-making and Quaker settlement, were applied. In 1681 there was added to this, in discharge of a debt due from the Crown to his father, a grant of a large portion of the territory west of the River Delaware, which henceforth bore his name as 'Pennsylvania'. The Sidneys, Algernon and perhaps Henry, helped him to draw a constitution for

this colony, unworkable indeed but founded upon principles of the widest religious toleration. Penn could at least point to the success of the same principles in the neighbouring colony of Maryland, founded by a Roman Catholic.

As in spiritual, so in secular matters, Penn's innate goodness of heart deceived him ; he believed that all his colonists would be as good as himself. He afterwards showed himself quite ready to modify the form of government which he had drawn up ; for he believed that any system of government could be well administered, even a despotism. Penn went out himself in 1682, and the famous interview, often mis-called a treaty, with some Indian chiefs took place under an elm-tree at Shackamaxon in November 1682. He was most anxious that no violence should be done to the children of the forest, whom he looked upon as the original owners of the soil. He was in fact the first European to be under the illusion, afterwards popularized by Rousseau, as to the ' noble ' character of the savage, and in his letters he extolled the red men as possessed of all the virtues without the vices of civilization. It is to be feared that the later colonists of Pennsylvania failed to live up to Penn's principle of toleration and mercy to the savages ; the only part of the Quaker doctrines to which they really clung was their objection to fighting ; hence their steady refusal to burden themselves with their own defence, either against these savages or against the French.

From the first, the medley of vigorous, turbulent fortune-hunters, sailors, smugglers, and farmers that flocked in to occupy on advantageous conditions the town-lots in Philadelphia, and the rich virgin soil of the *hinterland*, showed that they had no intention of being guided even by the light snaffle that William Penn held in his hands ; it is only fair to remember that they afterwards showed themselves equally hostile to all forms of control from the mother country. Twenty years before Penn's death his constitution had broken down ; at a visit which he paid to his colony in 1699-1701 he was obliged to modify it, and showed perfect and reasonable readiness to do so. He was also

harassed, as proprietor, by the Revolution Government at home, by the Governor of New York in America, by the dishonesty of his own steward, and by the desire of the inhabitants of the Delaware territories to become a separate colony ; and he was actually in negotiation to transfer his rights to the Crown when he died.

There is, however, another side to the life of William Penn, which, equally with his colonial experience, illustrates the simple and unworldly side of his character. He allowed himself to be deluded by his old friend James II into supporting what James called his policy of universal toleration ; the Quaker gentleman became a favourite at the new King's Court, and the malignity of Macaulay has consequently branded him with all sorts of accusations of compliance with James's tyranny, every one of which can be disproved on closer examination.

It is worth remembering that James, though no doubt he hoodwinked Penn and never really intended to tolerate Protestant Dissenters, believed in his own good intentions, and was too stupid to see that he was acting like a tyrant. But the not unnatural result of Penn's warm support of the Declaration of Indulgence was that, after the Revolution, he should be suspected, and to some extent persecuted, as a Jacobite. He used in his simplicity to write to his old friend James at Saint-Germain, and made no attempt to conceal the fact. King William himself understood Penn's innocence of all ' treasonable ' practices, but was not wholly able to protect him. The Toleration Act only partly fulfilled Penn's aspirations, but secured at least practical indulgence for the sect to which he still nominally belonged. In his last years his mind was breaking, his health was wretched, and his property melted away.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD

(1714-1770)

Methodist preacher, was the son of a well-to-do innkeeper at Gloucester. His father died while he was a baby and his mother soon ceased to be prosperous. But he came of good clerical stock, and had already received some education before he became obliged by poverty to assist his mother at the Bell Inn. He entered Pembroke College, Oxford, as a servitor in 1732, and at once fell under the influence of Charles Wesley, who had just taken his degree but was as yet averse from taking Holy Orders. Whitefield was ordained in 1736, and began his great career as a preacher. If the statement be true that he preached during the ensuing thirty-four years no less than eighteen thousand sermons, he must have far exceeded the average of a sermon *per diem* for the rest of his life. When the pulpit in a church was refused him he was ever ready to preach in the open air, sometimes in canonical garb, sometimes without it, and he may indeed be reckoned to be the pioneer of field-preaching, a practice into which the Wesleys followed him with reluctance. Both he and Charles Wesley possessed great dramatic powers, but Whitefield had the more exuberant fancy, and was less restrained by scholarly instincts ; he was aided by a voice of great richness and power, which made his hearers overlook the coarseness of his figure and his squinting vision. Perhaps, indeed, these unpleasing features even contributed to his success when he addressed audiences heated almost to hysteria at a 'revival' meeting. He followed the Wesleys to the mission-field of Georgia in 1737, and in the course of his life made in all no less than seven visits to America, ultimately dying at a small town in Massachusetts. Before his second visit he had inclined more and earlier than the Wesleys to a close

intercourse with the older Dissenting communities, and his sojourns beyond the Atlantic, where he was more than once at sharp issue with the 'Anglican' Church authorities, developed this intercourse. His alienation from the Wesleyan School of 'Methodists' came from his leanings towards the extreme Calvinistic doctrines. He opened his first 'Tabernacle' in London, 1741. In the same year he married a widow, Mrs. James, who was some years older than himself. Henceforth he was the leader and apostle of a sect called 'Calvinistic Methodists'. On returning in 1748 from a four years' stay beyond seas he became chaplain to the famous Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, whose wealth was freely placed at the disposal of many so-called 'Evangelical' preachers.

Whitefield's writings, and especially his journals, filled with ecstatic and occasionally somewhat vulgar exaggeration of language both as to his own sins and the spiritual blessings at the disposal of the 'converted', have led sober people to undervalue his essential sincerity and humility, and his affectionate warmth of heart. He had, in truth, far more in common with the gentle Charles than with the autocratic John Wesley.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON

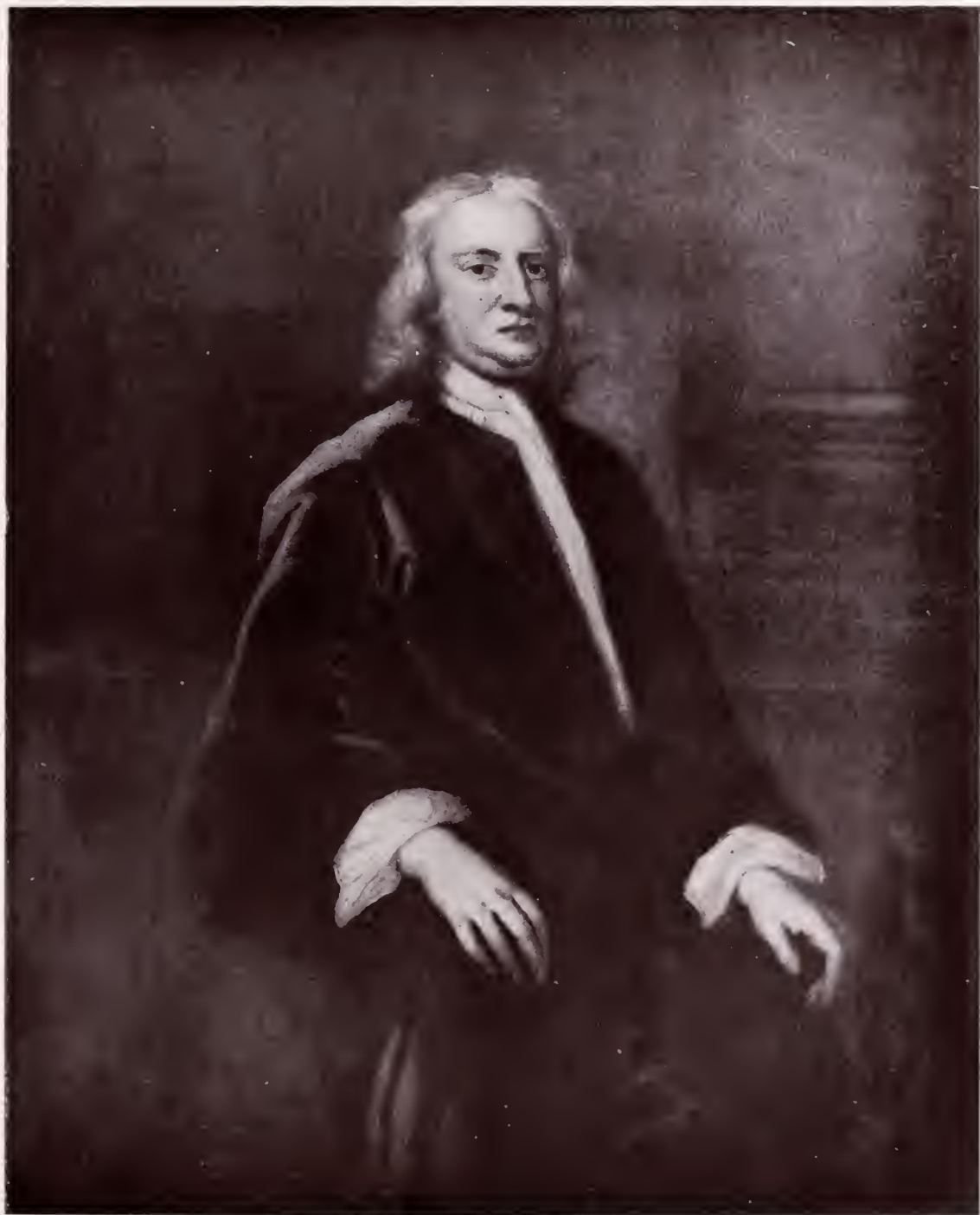
(1642-1727)

philosopher, the posthumous son of Isaac Newton, a small landowner little above yeoman rank, and of Hannah Ayscough, was born at Woolsthorpe, near Grantham, Lincolnshire, a year after the death of Galileo. His pedigree cannot with certainty be traced behind his grandfather, although Sir Isaac certainly entertained some belief in his Scottish origin. He was prematurely born, and was so small at his birth that his mother used to say 'he might then have been put into a quart mug'. But he attained a great age, and except for a mysterious illness in the year 1693 enjoyed good health until his last three years, when he began to suffer from the stone, of which he died in his eighty-fifth year.

When Isaac was three years old his mother married a Lincolnshire clergyman and left her son for a time to the care of his grandmother Ayscough; the boy got his education from his eighth to his fourteenth year at Grantham Grammar School, but was recalled home in 1656 to assist his mother, now for the second time a widow, in the management of her little farm, to which, with her three children by her second husband, she had now returned. Isaac, who had distinguished himself before he left school by constructing machines such as water-clocks, dials, miniature windmills, and mechanical carriages, proved an inefficient agriculturist, and was sent back to school in 1660 to prepare him for Cambridge. He entered Trinity as a sub-sizar in 1661, became a Scholar three years later, and took his Bachelor's degree in 1665. In 1667 he was elected Fellow, and in 1669 accepted the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics. In 1672 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, though his actual admission dates three years later. Newton was very poor at this time, and it needed the exercise by

King Charles II of the celebrated 'dispensing power' to enable him to continue to hold his Fellowship without taking orders in accordance with the College Statutes. Just before the publication of the *Principia* Newton was chosen one of the deputation when the University of Cambridge was cited before King James's Ecclesiastical Commission for refusing to admit an ignorant Catholic monk to a degree without the oaths. In this capacity he duly received a scolding from Jeffreys; a circumstance which perhaps led to his election to the Convention in 1689 as representative of the University of Cambridge, and his friendship with Locke may be assumed to have begun at this date. Newton was anything but regular in his Parliamentary attendance. In 1693 he had a serious illness, and stories, since conclusively disproved by his biographer Brewster, were circulated that his mind was deranged owing to the loss of some papers containing the fruits of his recent researches. He seems to have had more than one expectation of preferment from the Whig Government, but it was not until 1696 that he became, by the patronage of his friend Charles Montagu, Warden of the Mint, in which capacity he helped to carry through the reform of the coinage. In 1699 he became Master of the Mint with a salary of £1,500 a year; he resigned his professorship two years later, and sat again for the University in the last Parliament of King William, 1701-2. In 1703 he became President of the Royal Society, and held the office till his death. He was knighted by Queen Anne in 1705.

Such are the bare dates in the life of the man who took the most coy but most richly dowered of the Muses for his bride. Urania led him to heights even beyond those reached by Copernicus and Galileo. What is light and how is it transmitted? What keeps the moon in the orbit of the earth, and the planets in the orbit of the sun? Why does the apple fall to the ground? What is the Infinite Series of Numbers? What laws govern the periodicity of comets?—when we seek an answer to these questions, it is to Newton that we turn. Newton finally displayed to mankind a Universe harnessed by the Will of an



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

From the portrait by John Vanderbank at Trinity College, Cambridge

Eternal Creator to the principles of Mathematical Law. Pope's famous couplet

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night ;
God said, ' Let Newton be ', and all was light.

overstates the claims of this great thinker, but overstates them only in degree, not in kind. It would be impious for a writer ignorant of these laws to attempt to trace their discoveries in detail. Newton's earliest researches seem to have been into the nature of Light, and his statue in Trinity rightly bears a prism in its hand. His whole views upon the subject were only given to the world in his *Optics* in 1704, though much of them had appeared in his first Lucasian lectures as early as 1669. All his life he was zealous for the improvement of the telescope, and constructed several of these instruments with his own hands. He even experimented on his own eyes with some of the more dangerous of the problems of prismatic rays. The tradition that the fall of an apple, in the garden at Woolsthorpe, where Newton was an exile from Cambridge in the year of the plague, 1665, led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation, comes straight from his niece, but has of course only the value of a tradition. Newton laboured at gravitation incessantly for over twenty years, but only published his results when the first edition of the *Principia* appeared—dragged out of him by the importunity of Halley as mouthpiece of the Royal Society, and published at Halley's cost—in the summer of 1687. Newton's great discovery of the Differential Calculus, which he called the ' Theory of Fluxions ', was really made as early as 1666, but was only made clear by him in an appendix to his *Optics* in 1704. It seems certain, however, that some hints of his method had been seen in a roundabout fashion by Leibnitz, who, not content with his own admirable labour on the subject, desired to appropriate all the credit of the discovery, whereas in truth he had borrowed his method from Newton's manuscripts. This led to a long controversy, which continued for many years after the death of the German philosopher, and embittered Newton's declining years.

Sir Isaac was short in stature, and in his later years somewhat fat. He has often been represented as a man so given to abstract thought as to have been wholly ignorant of the world or of worldly concerns. There are indeed many well-known stories of his absence of mind, and Wordsworth's immortal lines in *The Prelude*, upon Newton's statue in the antechapel of Trinity College, have contributed to stamp this character upon their subject. But there is danger of over-statement on this side. The voyages of all great thinkers through their life's sea of thought must be very largely made alone, but there is no reason to attribute to Newton the habits or ideas of a recluse. Sir David Brewster in his admirable *Life of Newton*, though doing full justice to his power of abstract thought, and to the spiritual side of his nature, proves that the philosopher quite understood both the world around him and his own position in it. His modesty was not founded on any indifference to fame, or on any illusions as to the value of his great discoveries, but arose rather from the vast range of his own knowledge, which showed him how little of the field of Nature even he had been able to explore. To himself Newton seemed to be but a child who had picked up a few particularly beautiful shells or pebbles on the shore of a boundless ocean. As a discoverer, in an age peculiarly rich in men who were unlocking the secret hiding-places of Nature on that ocean shore, Newton was fully determined to claim his own place, and was even jealous if his claims were contested. That they were contested, on one occasion by so great a rival as Leibnitz, was due to the habit Newton had contracted of throwing out hints in his lectures or in his private letters concerning the first steps in any great discovery, while avoiding actual publication until he had perfected his own knowledge by experiment and by induction.

The Royal Society, whose services to the advancement of knowledge are only second to those of the Schools of Athens, was at the very height of its influence, though occasionally lacking in funds, when Newton became a Fellow, and was barely fifty years old when he ascended its Chair. It counted among its members men well qualified

to appreciate, and even to criticize Newton himself. The flower of his own youth and the vigour of his manhood had been entirely devoted to Science ; although his influence in the University had long been great it was not until he was past his fiftieth year that he was seriously called upon to take part in ' affairs ' ; when he did, he brought to the practical work of the Mint the same industry and ability which he had devoted, and which he never ceased to devote, to Natural Science. In this, his life-work, he was always eminently cautious in his first steps, but unfailingly resolute in summing up the results of any one great train of thought and experiment ; and, happily for mankind, he possessed in full measure the power of communicating his discoveries to the world, whether in Latin or English, in language and method of the most simple and intelligible kind. In an irreligious age he was also eminently a religious man, and all his knowledge did but increase his reverence for the Great Architect of the Universe. Indeed, so firm was his confidence in the truth of revealed religion, and even in the divine character of the Hebrew Bible, that he devoted some time in his later years to the interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel and to the construction of a system of chronology for the ancient world. This would now provoke a smile were it not also the work of a pioneer towards the measurement of historical time by computations from the recurrence of natural phenomena, such as eclipses and comets. In his later years, when in the enjoyment of a good income, Newton, although his own habits and diet were of the simplest, lived in handsome style in London, with an amiable and beautiful niece to keep house for him ; yet it is on record that, like the poet Shelley, he frequently forgot whether he had dined or no. His generosity was somewhat out of proportion to his moderate riches, and yet he was able to bequeath over thirty thousand pounds to his nephews and nieces. He lies among his peers, if indeed he has any peers, in Westminster Abbey.

EDMUND HALLEY

(1656-1742)

astronomer, was the only son of a London merchant, and was educated at St. Paul's School and Queen's College Oxford, where he became an excellent scholar both in Classics and Mathematics. His life has never been properly written, but his achievements in discovery, his versatility, and his immense learning, suffice to place him in the very first rank of English, and even of European, men of science. For Oxford he fills to some extent the place in the roll of fame held at Cambridge by Isaac Newton, of whom he was the warm friend and champion; it was he who almost compelled Newton to publish his *Principia*, and who, though suffering from a recent severe pecuniary loss, generously defrayed the cost of printing it. Quite recently Oxford has acknowledged this famous son, and private generosity has founded in his honour a lecture to be given annually by some distinguished man of science.

Halley's earliest labours were devoted to the study of planetary motion, and he made a voyage to St. Helena in 1676-8, bringing back with him the first approach to a complete map of the heavens in the Southern Hemisphere. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society on his return, 1678. In 1682 he observed the Comet which has ever since been called by his name, but it was not till many years later that he established its periodicity to be of seventy-five or seventy-six years. In the course of his investigations Halley turned the tables upon this comet (and incidentally upon all comets) by predicting its reappearance in 1758. Until his time it was usually believed that the comet was the prophet, and that some great event in the history of mankind was the object of its prophecy; yet only on two occasions, out of its twenty-five appearances recorded since the commencement of the Christian Era, has its year been marked by any remarkable event,



GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D.

Bishop of Cloyne

From the portrait by John Smibert in the National Portrait Gallery



EDMUND HALLEY

From the portrait by Thomas Murray at Queen's College, Oxford

namely, the defeat of the Huns in 451 and the Norman Conquest in 1066. This comet is indeed the terrible star that is figured in the Bayeux tapestry.

Another subject to which Halley devoted research was the regular motion of the monsoon and the trade-wind ; a third was the variation of the compass ; and in pursuit of the latter subject he made a great voyage up and down the Atlantic Ocean on both its shores (1698-1700), reaching the Antarctic ice in lat. 52° S., and suffering considerable hardships. He accounted for the variations of the needle by supposing the earth to consist of a hollow shell, within which another shell revolved, with a differential motion about the same axis of rotation ; to this inner shell he assigned two magnetic poles, and to the outer shell other two poles, and he held the rotation of the inner sphere to be slower than that of the outer. Soon after his return from this voyage Halley published a general chart, showing at one view the variation of the compass in a great number of localities ; this chart became the model on which all mariners' charts have since been constructed. Next, this wonderful man surveyed for the British Government the fierce tides of the estuary of the Severn, for the Austrian Government the gentle rise and fall at the head of the Adriatic, taking, in his stride, a turn at the fortification of the city of Trieste. The atmospheric pressure, and especially the effect of heights upon the barometer ; the proper motion of the stars ; the connexion between the aurora borealis and magnetic storms ; the statistics of human longevity ; the principles of conic sections ; the diver's apparatus and the diving-bell ; these are a few of the minor subjects in which Halley made discoveries and improvements. He also devoted much thought, though without success, to the search for some method of determining longitude at sea. Then, as Savilian Professor at Oxford in 1703, he learned Arabic in order to translate into Latin for the University a mathematical treatise on conic sections, and also produced an edition of some part of Ptolemy's Geography. He predicted and observed the eclipse of the sun of 1715. He became Astronomer-Royal, though with a very small salary, in

1721 ; this gave him a residence in Greenwich Park, where he spent most of the remaining twenty-one years of his long life. In this capacity he devoted himself mainly to lunar observation, being particularly anxious to tabulate as completely as possible over a long period of years the 'errors' to which the moon is subject ; these observations were not published until a few years after his death. He appears to have been a witty and delightful companion, with hardly an enemy in the world.

GEORGE BERKELEY

BISHOP OF CLOYNE

(1685-1753)

was born in Ireland, a cadet of the family of Berkeley of Stratton. He was at school at Kilkenny, and became a distinguished member of Trinity College, Dublin, in which he held a Fellowship and a long succession of the higher offices. In his early manhood he became a student of Philosophy, and it is as an original thinker in Metaphysics that he is best remembered. His first writings in that sphere appeared in his twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years. But his interests were as various as his mind was versatile ; at the end of Anne's reign he visited England and became the friend of all the wits of the age. He travelled to Italy as Peterborough's chaplain in 1713-14, and again, as a tutor with a pupil, to France and Italy in 1716-20. On his return to Ireland he was appointed successively to the Deaneries of Dromore and Derry, but never held the former office, and never seriously the latter ; for he had, two years before, been bitten with an enthusiasm for the humanizing of our American colonists and for the evangelization of the negroes and the natives of America.

His scheme was for the foundation of a University in the Bahamas, on a larger scale and in a more temperate climate than Codrington's recently founded College in Barbados. He laboured for the next eleven years to raise money for this on both sides of the Atlantic, and even, by his great power of argument and persuasion, succeeded in getting a Bill for endowing it passed in Parliament. It was in the course of this zealous canvass that he composed, about 1726, the poem on the coming golden age in the West which contains the often-quoted stanza :

Westward the course of Empire takes its way ;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

But Walpole, though he had himself subscribed to Berkeley's scheme, was not the man to let his country pay for an ideal, and the money was never forthcoming. Berkeley, with his newly-wedded wife, sailed to America in 1728, and spent three years in the colony of Rhode Island, where he wrote another philosophical work entitled *Alciiphron*. When all his hopes of establishing his University had vanished he left what property he had acquired in America in gifts to the Colleges of Yale and Harvard, and returned to London in 1731. Queen Caroline had offered him a bishopric before his voyage to the West, but he had then refused ; and it was not till 1734 that she prevailed on him, of whose works, in spite of base insinuations by her toady Hoadley, she was a great admirer, to accept the Bishopric of Cloyne. At Cloyne Berkeley spent a happy and beneficent life until his last year. His letters draw a terrible picture of the condition of the peasantry in the famine years of 1740-1. He was strongly against the penal laws which made it unlawful for Catholics to purchase land, and did much to soften their harshness through his extraordinary influence with all sects and all classes of society. He doctored his own sick, and wanted to doctor all the world, with an American remedy called ' Tar Water ', about which he became enthusiastic. He published, in three series,

an economic treatise called *The Querist*, which anticipated several of Adam Smith's ideas. He refused richer bishoprics. When old age crept on, fond as he was of Cloyne, and happy as such a truly good man must be anywhere, he sought a more lettered retreat at Oxford, and died within six months of settling there.

If Berkeley had lived in the twelfth century he would have been called a 'nominalist', and probably a heretic. He threw over Locke's doctrine of abstract ideas, and denied the existence of matter except in mind. His *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* and his *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (familiarily known as 'Berkeley's Principles'), though both very early works, contain all his main contributions to metaphysical thought, and he developed them very little in his numerous later treatises. He, more than any one else, gave the impulse to the idealistic movement, which culminated in Kant and Hegel, and is still most influential among philosophers.

Mr. Lecky well sums Berkeley up as 'this most extraordinary man, who united the rarest and most various intellectual gifts with a grace and purity of character and an enthusiasm of benevolence that fascinated all about him': and Mr. Andrew Lang happily characterizes his style as being 'in grace and irony akin to the manners of Plato and Pascal'.

ALEXANDER POPE

(1688-1744)

poet, son of Alexander Pope, a rich merchant and linen-draper, recently converted to Catholicism, and of Edith Turner, was born in London. His father bought a small estate at Binfield, near Windsor, before the boy reached his twelfth year ; little Alexander had already begun to lisp in numbers, had dramatized scenes from Homer, and had seen Dryden. His schooling was obtained at various private Catholic schools, and at home from priests. At no other time does his religion appear to have been at all a makeweight in his social or educational progress ; but Pope certainly grew up more furnished with scholarly instincts than with actual scholarship. After an infantile illness which had left him dwarfed and deformed, yet with a face of great attractiveness, he was always in rather delicate health, but was able to ride and to superintend work in a garden. The first publication of his to attract attention was his *Pastorals*, published in Tonson's *Miscellanies* in his twenty-first year ; he had already studied for the trade of poet with great care, and had been well advised by Dryden's old friend and critic, Walsh, to cultivate 'correctness' in writing ; Dryden was his best-loved model. The *Essay on Criticism* followed in 1711, and the immortal *Rape of the Lock* (in its first state) in 1712 ; *Windsor Forest* came in 1713, the second version of the *Rape of the Lock* in 1714. Pope was so careful of his fame that he polished and repolished all those of his youthful effusions which he allowed to survive ; it was a laudable practice, though in his case vanity was the prompter.

The throne of Dryden had now been empty for fifteen years, and if any one stood upon the steps of it it was this young aspirant, already posing as a man of fashion at coffee-houses, already of weight enough to court and then to quarrel with the great Mr. Wycherley, already the friend of Steele, Swift, Congreve, Gay, Arbuthnot, Atterbury, and

of another, who perhaps was not so ready to admit that the throne was vacant, Addison. For Addison's *Cato* Pope had written the much-admired prologue in 1713. Thus there was nothing wonderful in the fact that he was chosen, as it were by the voice of Literature at large, to undertake the translation of Homer's *Iliad*, the first volume of which appeared in 1715 and the last in 1720. With this he at once ascended the throne, and, in the opinion of all reasonable persons, retained it until his death. The few rebels against his authority would have been less bitter if the new monarch had been of a less jealous, sensitive, and revengeful temper. A devoted and affectionate son to his aged parents, a devoted friend to a very few who were equally devoted to him, a man of noble independence of spirit, who cared nothing for pensions and little for flattery (as contrasted with honest praise), Pope was yet a very hedgehog, nay a porcupine, when his self-esteem was assailed, and was capable of infinite meanness and spite against its assailants. The number of people with whom he quarrelled was appalling; the occasions of quarrel were often trivial in the extreme; the wounds he could inflict were terrible. In one of his invectives he speaks of his critics as employing the weapons 'of women and children, a pin to scratch and a squirt to bespatter'; his own far keener intellect, his perfect mastery of words, and his great malevolence enabled him to use against them rather the dagger and to poison it with just enough truth to make the wounds gangrenous. Worse still, he would put the dagger into the hands of a third party, compel him to strike, and then pretend to write in defence of the wounded. Not only professional critics, Grub Street hacks, and piratical booksellers received his awful steel in their inward parts; if Bentley questioned his Homeric scholarship, or Theobald his Shakespearian, if Addison praised Tickell, if Lady Mary Wortley Montagu did not receive his gallantry quite as that of an equal, if his assistants in the *Odyssey* sought any of their fair share of praise for the translation, pillory in the *Dunciad*, or more fearful lampoons under some cloak of secrecy, awaited them. Such a person, perhaps ignorant of having



ALEXANDER POPE

From the portrait by Jonathan Richardson in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

given offence, might take up a new poem of Pope's at the bookseller's, read eagerly, then suddenly turn pale, and exclaim, as some fearful thrust met his eyes, 'He means me, by G—.' It is horrible to read of the stratagems to which Pope resorted in order to obtain from Swift, when Swift's noble mind was all but a wreck, the correspondence of their friendship's days. It is uncertain whether he did or did not take a bribe from old Duchess Sarah of Marlborough to suppress some lines he had written on her ; but those lines appeared after her death, the writer occasionally averring that they were directed at the address of another Duchess. To do him justice, Pope feared a Duchess as little as he feared Colley Cibber, poet laureate, or a bookseller's hack ; if he had a thin skin he had a stout heart, and, like Mr. Crump, he rather patronized persons of rank than cringed to them. Very rarely did his shafts fail to hit their mark, though when he substituted a new enemy for an old in a new edition of some famous satire (e.g. when he replaced Theobald by Cibber as the hero of the *Dunciad*) he was not always careful to alter the stage properties sufficiently. Yet Pope needed friends and sought them ; with strange inconsistency of character he actually won and retained the warm friendship of one old enemy, Warburton. Less to his credit he clung tightly to Bolingbroke, and was actually taken in by that very shallow infidel's 'philosophy', which he versified in the famous *Essay on Man* (1733). 'Never,' said Johnson of this, 'were penury of knowledge and vulgarity of sentiment so happily disguised.' Bolingbroke to some extent took the place of Pope's older friend Atterbury, exiled in 1723, and the exchange was a poor one for Pope.

The *Iliad* had made the poet, if not a rich man, independent for life. In 1716 he settled in London, and in 1719 bought his villa at Twickenham, where he spent the rest of his life. His friendship and admiration for Miss Martha Blount (and it was probably nothing actually warmer) was his greatest comfort ; for her sister Theresa he felt for a time an almost equal affection, but this did not last. His very paltry edition of Shakespeare, which led to his controversy with the

far more weighty scholar, Theobald, came in 1725. The *Odyssey* appeared in 1725-6; only twelve books were actually Pope's work, and his assistants were reasonably, though not extravagantly, paid for the other twelve; Pope received over £5,000 for it in all. Swift visited him twice at Twickenham soon after this, and read the manuscript of the *Dunciad*, of which the first edition appeared in 1728, though it was not given under the author's own name till 1735. The *Imitations* of Horace followed hard on the *Essay on Man*, the *Satires* and other *Moral Epistles* in 1733-4; and the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, which contained the ungenerous lines on Addison, so terrible because so near the truth, came in 1735. The *Epilogue to the Satires* closed the Horatian cycle in 1738.

The controversy on the place of Pope among the poets only began with the rise of the Romantic School. Johnson had no doubts. The good old critic disliked the man, but when he contrasted the poet with his imitators, among whose placid inanities his own middle life had been passed, he could come to but one conclusion: 'he had invention, imagination and judgement; if Pope be not a poet, where is poetry to be found?' Pope's perfectly felicitous diction appealed to an age which perhaps thought too much of diction, but Pope had perfect taste too, and surely no one except a 'post-Victorian' can afford to underrate that. The best plea for him is the latest, that of Mr. Elwin and Mr. Courthope: Pope would have been a poet in any period, his faults and his limitations were those of his surroundings, his excellences were his own.

WILLIAM CONGREVE

(1670-1729)

playwright, was the son of an officer in the Army, was born in Yorkshire, brought up in Ireland, and was, at Trinity College, Dublin, the contemporary and friend of Swift. He came to London to study law, and began to write his plays, now mostly forgotten, soon after the Revolution. Dryden took him by the hand and warmly praised his first play; this assured his success, and Congreve repaid his patron's generosity by helping him with his *Juvenal* and his *Virgil*. The Non-juror Jeremy Collier, in his attack upon the immorality of the Stage, fell upon Congreve and lashed him so severely that within three years the dramatist abandoned his profession in the sulks; Johnson testifies to the real effect of Collier's onslaught. But long before this the 'nobility and the town', led by that dull but munificent patron, Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, had taken Congreve at Dryden's valuation and had believed in him; somehow or other he got four Government sinecures, and he had probably made, by his few plays, a fair fortune. And, in spite of Collier, other people, not wholly under the sway of fashion, or even of Dryden, believed in him, such as Swift and Steele; Pope dedicated his *Iliad* to him; Mrs. Bracegirdle loved him; and Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough built his tomb in the Abbey, which drew down on her sarcastic remarks from her mother, Duchess Sarah. Johnson once alarmed Garrick by declaring that a certain passage in Congreve's *Mourning Bride* was finer than anything in Shakespeare. But in his 'Life' of Congreve, though it is fairly favourable, he sweeps away all possible comparison between them; and he concludes that 'it is acknowledged with universal conviction that the perusal of Congreve's Works will make no man better, and that their ultimate effect is to represent pleasure in alliance with vice, and to relax those obligations by which life ought to be regulated'.

Mr. Lang points out the absurd intricacy of Congreve's plots, of which the reader ought to master the details before he can enjoy the text. The more severe criticism has been passed upon Congreve that the whole attitude of his characters, good and bad, is upon a dull level of cynicism, without any suggestion that anybody could be anything but cynical. So great is the writer's ignorance of Nature that he makes the cuckoo sing in August. His dialogue, however, is often pointed and witty, and good critics have enjoyed it. Congreve was extremely desirous to be taken for nothing but a man of fashion ; he was also avaricious and self-indulgent.

His plays are : *The Old Bachelor*, 1693 ; *The Double Dealer*, 1693 ; *Love for Love*, 1695 ; *The Mourning Bride*, 1697 ; *The Way of the World*, 1700.

HENRY FIELDING

(1707-1754)

the first great English novelist, was born in Somersetshire of the family of the Earls of Desmond and of Denbigh, and was second cousin of Mary Wortley Montagu. His father, who became a General in the Army after Henry grew to manhood, promised, but did not pay him with any regularity, an allowance of £200 a year. Fielding's life has often been sketched, never with more power and sympathy than by Thackeray in his *English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*. Manifestly he was Thackeray's favourite and model, and there are times when Thackeray seems to lament that the changed standard of taste will no longer permit him to draw from the life, as Fielding drew in *Tom Jones*.

The facts and dates of Fielding's life are as follows. He was at Eton between 1718 and 1725 ; came to London and wrote for the stage as early as 1728 ; spent at least a year, 1728-9, at the University of Leyden ; returned to London, and continued to write for the stage



WILLIAM CONGREVE

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery



HENRY FIELDING

From an engraving after the pen-and-ink sketch by
William Hogarth

down to the Licensing Act of 1737 ; married (1734) Charlotte Cradock, of Salisbury, from whose lovable character he drew *Amelia*, and perhaps also *Sophia Western* ; was called to the Bar in 1740, but practised little and struggled to live by his pen ; published in 1742 his first novel, *Joseph Andrews*, a rollicking satire upon the work of Richardson (the favourite writer of the sentimentalists of the day) ; published his three volumes of ' *Miscellanies* ', containing *Jonathan Wild* and *A Journey from this World to the Next*, in 1743 ; lost his first wife, probably in 1743, and married her maid Mary Daniel in 1747 ; was made a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster in 1748, an office not then held in social esteem, but giving the holder an unrivalled opportunity of seeing the seamy side of life ; published *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, in 1749 ; was chosen Chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions in the same year ; brought out his last novel, *Amelia*, in 1751 ; sailed for Lisbon in utterly broken health in June 1754, and died there in October.

Besides the works above mentioned, Fielding wrote several tracts of real value upon the Poor, upon the Criminal Classes, and upon politics. Though no politician or partisan, he was a stout Whig and supporter of King George in the critical year '45 ; and he satirized the Jacobites well in 1747-8, a circumstance which made it pleasing to Mr. Andrew Lang to be able to record that Prince Charles, when in hiding in Paris, bought *Tom Jones* both in French and English. For the rest, before he became a hard-working magistrate (and that was not till his health was seriously impaired by gout), Fielding was a very handsome, tall, and strong man, with a robust enjoyment of life, of whose cup he drank pretty deeply, quite improvident, but devoted to his wife and always kind and good to her. He loved boisterous company, and was not particular about its refinement ; his heart always, and his purse on the rare occasions when there was anything in it, were open to those in distress ; he was coarse with the terrible virility of that virile age, but compared with the puling hothouse prudery and suggestiveness of the ' cockney bookseller whom he held up to scorn

as a mollcoddle and a milksop', (Richardson), Fielding's coarseness leaves little taint. Thackeray and Andrew Lang agree in giving the palm among heroines to Amelia, nor does the younger critic seriously differ from the elder in putting the best known of the heroes, Tom Jones, on a lower pedestal than Joseph Andrews or Captain Booth. Of each of these, and of a score more of the characters in these three, the greatest works of British fiction before Austen and Scott, Thackeray's estimate is surely the right and the final one; they are not 'characters in fiction but in history—in the history of humanity'. To Fielding, their creator, might be applied the lines that were written for Fielding's greatest admirer and imitator:

Great master of the human heart,
 Its follies, passions, sorrows, sins,
 Who showed the world with wondrous art
 How near to evil good begins.

JOHN GAY

(1685-1732)

minor poet, was born at Barnstaple, and apprenticed to a London mercer. Mr. Andrew Lang, whose happy phrases it would be an affectation to shrink from quoting, calls him 'the spoiled improvident child of the group of wits' at the end of Anne's reign; he was the friend of Swift, of Arbuthnot, and still more of Pope; he was successively patronized by the Duchess of Monmouth, by Clarendon, Pulteney, and Harcourt, and finally by the Duchess of Queensberry (known to fame as 'Prior's Kitty'), who took care of him, and generally kept him in her household for the last twelve years of his lazy life. Gay was always grumbling, and his friends grumbled for him, that the Court had taken little notice of him; but the fact is that he received one small Government 'place' (a lottery commissionership), and refused another,



JOHN GAY

From the unfinished portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller
in the National Portrait Gallery



JOHN ARBUTHNOT, M.D.

From the portrait by Charles Jervas belonging to
the Royal College of Physicians



SAMUEL RICHARDSON

From the portrait by Joseph Highmore in the
National Portrait Gallery



LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

From an engraving by Caroline Watson after
a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

that of gentleman usher to one of the Princesses ; he made a decent income by his writings ; though he lost heavily in the South Sea Bubble, he soon began to earn more ; and the subscription-lists to his various publications far exceeded those which fell to the lot of many greater poets.

His first work of any notoriety was *The Shepherd's Week*, written in the last years of Anne at the suggestion of Pope ; it is a better series of ' Pastorals ', and less artificial, than most of its contemporaries : in the next year came *Trivia*, a poem on London ; in 1720 *Poems*, a collection in two volumes. But his real fame rests upon *The Beggar's Opera*, 1728, a really new and original comedy, full of excellent humour and pretty songs. It had a great success on the stage, and a sequel to it, *Polly*, was prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain, or, in other words, by Walpole and the Court ; and just for this reason it sold like wildfire among the very numerous fashionable and political opponents of Walpole's heavy-handed Ministry. Gay also wrote a witty series of *Fables*, which has survived mainly owing to the fact that Bewick engraved designs for the edition of 1779.

JOHN ARBUTHNOT

(1667-1735)

was the son of an Episcopalian minister in Kincardineshire, who was ejected from his parish at the Revolution. The son came to London, with a St. Andrews degree in medicine, towards the end of King William's reign, and took pupils in mathematics. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1704, and named physician to Queen Anne in the next year. He became the intimate friend of Swift and Harley, and his first great satire, *The Art of Political Lying*, was produced in 1712 ; *The History of John Bull* belongs to the same year. Arbuthnot is probably the inventor of this immortal name for the British merchant,

whose solidity is contrasted in the pamphlet with the monkey-tricks of Lewis Baboon (Louis Bourbon). The wits of this gang founded the Scriblerus Club, which showed neither mercy nor civility to Whigs. The ingenious author of much of their output went to France after the Queen's death, and the consequent extinction of the hopes of his party, but he did not stay long abroad and was unmolested on his return. He enjoyed his great practice until his death. He remained a warm friend of Swift, with whom he had much correspondence during the Dean's Irish period, also of Prior and Gay, and especially of Pope.

There has been much controversy as to what is, or what is not, rightly to be attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot; for he was one of those pleasant persons who cared little for what he wrote, and published mainly in order to laugh. Pope printed some of the *Miscellanies* before Arbuthnot's death, but the true *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* are those which came out after it, in the 1741 edition of Pope's own works. Much of what he wrote was assigned by opinion to Swift; and Johnson, who strangely undervalued Swift, placed Arbuthnot at the head of all the wits and writers of Anne's reign as 'the most universal genius, being an excellent physician, a man of deep learning, and much humour'.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON

(1689-1761)

novelist, was the son of a carpenter, and picked up some miscellaneous education. There is no proof that he was either at Christ's Hospital or at the Charterhouse, although both have been mentioned as places of his schooling. In 1706 he became a stationer's apprentice in London, set up in business as a printer in 1719, and made a fair income. He was at one time employed to print the Journals of the House of Commons. In 1740 he turned to account a talent which he is believed to have utilized as a boy—the writing of sentimental love-letters for illiterate persons of the female sex—by producing his first novel *Pamela* in the shape of an epistolary correspondence. It was this novel that Fielding ridiculed in *Joseph Andrews*. *Pamela* had an immediate success, which it is very hard for us to comprehend. *Clarissa Harlowe*, now chiefly remembered from the picture by Leech of the page-boy staggering under the burden of its eight vast volumes, was completed in 1748; and *Sir Charles Grandison*, 'one of the longest books ever printed', in 1753. 'Richardson', says Mr. Andrew Lang, 'lived in a kind of moral and sentimental hothouse in which we can scarcely breathe.' He was adored by women, and was a professional philanderer. The only pleasant or honourable thing recorded of him is that in 1756 Johnson was relieved by him when under arrest for a small debt, and that gratitude for this kindness moved Johnson to speak well of Richardson's novels. To Fielding and to any one else who refused to accept him at his own valuation, this puling sentimentalist was jealously hostile. In French drawing-rooms he was far more popular than in English; but it is a proof of the depraved taste of large sections even of English society in the last twenty years of George II, that Richardson's stuff was held by many who should have known better to be almost inspired; clergymen preached it up as an incentive to virtue. It is eminently characteristic of Lord Macaulay that he affected a boundless enthusiasm for Richardson's works.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

(1689-1762)

was the daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, afterwards first Duke of Kingston, and of Mary Fielding, daughter of Lord Denbigh. She received or gave herself an education quite beyond that of most women of her age, and ran away with Edward Wortley Montagu, grandson of Pepys's friend the first Earl of Sandwich, in 1712. Many years her senior, he was a man of real ability and a good scholar, a friend of Addison's, and trusted by the Whig leaders ; he had sat in the House of Commons since 1705, and became a Lord of the Treasury on the accession of George I. He went, with his wife and little son, as Ambassador to Constantinople in 1716, but was recalled in 1718. It was in the Levant that Lady Mary learned of the practice of inoculation for small-pox, which she was the first to introduce to Western Europe ; she herself had previously lost her beauty by the disease. Her letters from the Turkish capital are full of interest. Lady Mary, on her return to London, became one of the leaders of fashion and saw much of the Court of George I, of which she has left a scathing picture, published after her death together with her *Letters from the East*. Her husband continued to sit in Parliament till 1751, and died at an advanced age ten years later. He was a red-hot opponent of Walpole, which accounts to some extent for Horace Walpole's bitter enmity to him and his wife. Lady Mary now became an intimate friend of Pope, whom she had known before she left England, and settled at Twickenham with her husband in order to be near him ; but she was also a friend of Lord Hervey's, and Pope, though he was ' waur to his foes ', was often ' ill to his friends ' ; he was worst of all to those friends who cooled towards him, as, from about 1721, Lady Mary evidently did. Whether the cause of the quarrel were that she had laughed at some of his verses, or whether he actually made love to her and was scornfully rebuffed,

is uncertain ; but from 1722 he pursued her with venomous hatred until his death. She did not spare to return this feeling, and each lampooned the other with coarse satire. It is difficult, if we look fairly at the remaining years of Lady Mary's life, to conclude that she was ever unfaithful to her husband, or that their virtual separation in 1739 was of her making. She certainly seems to have had one flirtation with a Frenchman, and to have been alarmed lest her letters to him should be seen by her husband, but beyond this nothing is capable of proof. Her letters to her husband and to her daughter Lady Bute are excessively correct, and to her treatment of her unfortunate sister, Lady Mar, who was deranged in mind, no exception can be taken. But in 1739 she went to Italy and remained abroad until the news of Mr. Montagu's death brought her back a few months before her own death in 1762. Lady Louisa Stuart, in her 'Introductory Anecdotes' prefixed to the edition of Lady Mary's letters published in 1837, considers that the 'dispositions of the husband and wife were unsuitable', but that they had never intended the separation to be permanent. It is strange, however, that Mr. Montagu on his continental travels never visited his wife. The publicity she had acquired by her quarrel with Pope was probably distasteful to him ; moreover, she was extravagant, and he was a miser. Her later life was embittered by the misconduct of her clever, half-insane, and profligate son.

She lives mainly by her letters, which are extraordinarily racy and clever, and by the reputation of her talk for the same qualities. She knew she could write well, and perhaps knew it too much : 'Keep my letters,' she wrote once, 'they will be as good as Madame de Sévigné's forty years hence' ; and unquestionably she had more knowledge of the world, wider reading, and greater power of reflection than that most famous of correspondents.

ROBERT WALPOLE

FIRST EARL OF ORFORD

(1676-1745)

statesman and champion of the Whig party, was, according to the Tory Johnson, 'the best Minister this country ever had'. He came of a line of Norfolk Tory squires, though his father, also a Robert, had become a Whig in the reign of James II, and had sat as a Whig in William's Parliaments. His mother was a Burrell, or Burwell, of Suffolk. The family estate, though large, was not very rich, and Robert, the third son of nineteen children, his two elder brothers having died before their father, inherited land with about £2,000 a year on his father's death in 1700. He was educated at Eton and King's, and became a very good scholar; it is on record, however, that the Westminster Pulteney once tripped up the Etonian Walpole in a quotation from Horace, and won a guinea from him as the result. Walpole retained a great love for his old school and College, and, when in power, constantly perpetrated jobs in favour of their members. So entire, however, was his devotion to business, except in the brief holidays which he spent in fox- and hare-hunting, that he quite lost his taste for literature, and complained in his old age that he could not read at all; while his writing was wholly confined to the production of State papers or of an occasional political pamphlet. Of such matters, however, he was a great master, especially on all questions connected with finance. For he was before all things a 'man of affairs', and by affairs he meant the business of the State, 'the King's business', the nation's business. That business could, after 1714, be best done in the House of Commons, and Walpole therefore became the greatest 'manager' the House of Commons has ever seen. The means he employed in his management was, in spite of any sophistry which may seek to explain it away, bribery in some shape or other; very seldom, perhaps



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, FIRST EARL OF ORFORD, K.G., SEATED IN THE STUDIO OF FRANCIS HAYMAN, R.A.

From the painting by Francis Hayman, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

never, in hard cash, but rather in places, contracts, titles, pensions, ribands, and jobs of every sort and kind, which at all events the persons bribed preferred to hard cash. Walpole did not invent the system ; it was at least as old as Danby's Ministry, and, if it was noised abroad more in Walpole's time than before, it was mainly because his very long tenure of power created an Opposition resolved to noise everything abroad. That Opposition was quite ready to bribe, and did actually bribe, whenever it had got anything to offer, far more recklessly than Walpole ; and, with the exception of Carteret, the very men who had cried out most loudly against the great Minister continued his system of ' management '.

When we come to consider the ends for which Walpole managed the House of Commons we can at once see that they were great, and that they entitle him to a very high place among English statesmen. He was ambitious, nay, greedy, of power, and was so clearly convinced that he was the only man fit to hold it, that he cast off colleague after colleague, and in the end stood almost alone facing his foes ; with the exception of Lord Hardwicke all the able men were ranged against him. This has been commonly ascribed to his jealousy of rivals, but a better view is that the men whom he, with his eyes open, successively drove into opposition, were men whom he considered not to be what the French call ' at the height of the situation ', not fit to govern England. The imperative need of the situation was thirty years of peace, in order to reconcile the hostile majority of Englishmen to the new German dynasty, and to that ' Revolution Settlement ' which meant the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown. This comprised, as corollaries, the stilling of religious hatreds, light taxation, the reduction of the National Debt, a most unspirited foreign policy, resting upon no system of European alliances, but upon a steady *entente* with England's one dangerous rival, France, and a close attention to the commercial prosperity of the nation. Every disquieting movement for reform or for redress of even real grievances had to be ruthlessly set aside, or to be considered only in the light in which it would affect the

Minister's own Parliamentary supremacy. That Walpole was at heart a free-trader before his time, that he grasped the true relation of the colonies to the mother country, that he was a champion of religious toleration, is made clear by the very few tentative steps that he dared to take in these directions. He was never able to give effect to his own real wishes on such matters : from the one great measure that he proposed, the Excise scheme, he was obliged to draw quickly back, and he burned his fingers very badly in doing so. With such kings as George I and II, with their ridiculous Hanoverian views, and their still more ridiculous Hanoverian mistresses and courtiers, Walpole's position was never really secure ; even Queen Caroline, on the whole a constant friend, was once within an ace of sacrificing him, although she soon repented, and, on her deathbed, commended her poor little king, her children, and the kingdom, to his care. If Walpole was not always safe at the fountain-head of power, there was a poisoned spring close beside it, in the court of the Prince of Wales, always ready to gush out and sweep him away, should there be a demise of the crown ; and there was the rightful King far beyond the seas, to whom, in order to save his policy and perhaps his head, the great Minister was once obliged to make a secret overture. Tory and Whig alike must own that the way in which this simple coarse country gentleman controlled the vast machinery by which he was always in danger of being overwhelmed, and steered his country through crisis after crisis, merits the very highest praise as a very gallant feat or succession of feats. Walpole was a man not merely of dogged fighting powers, but of far-seeing, cool, and lofty bravery.

There was, however, one very bad blot upon his policy, a blot so black that it almost vitiates all the good he did, all the peace he kept. He allowed the Army and the Navy of Great Britain to dwindle almost to vanishing point. When urged to reconsider the state of the defences of the country, he, who had grown up as the *protégé* of Marlborough, and whom that great soldier had actually employed as Secretary-at-War, was base enough to speak of the ' danger of a stratocracy '. He made

the services a mere political tool, gave and withdrew commissions in them to buy miserable votes. It shows indeed his immense power that he could do this, for the Army was the one thing his King cared about. True, he did not employ, as Newcastle afterwards did, German troops to garrison the shores of Kent ; but that was because he was quite ready to do without any garrison at all. No roll of services, however long, can palliate this neglect of the primary duty of a statesman, and Walpole reaped in the end as he had sowed. He was forced into war with Spain in 1739, and he found that he had hardly an Army or a Navy to use in the contest.

The details of his career, though of unexampled interest as illustrating the history of his time, can only be summarized here in the briefest manner. He entered Parliament in 1701, and, though never a great orator, soon made himself a name as a master of figures and a good practical debater. He attached himself first to Sunderland, then to Godolphin and Marlborough ; became Secretary-at-War in 1708, Treasurer of the Navy in 1710 ; he retained the latter office for a while when the Tories came in, but was dismissed in 1711. He then led the Whig Opposition until he was accused of corruption in connexion with a Government contract, when he was sent to the Tower in 1712 and declared incapable of sitting in Parliament. He was now a thorough ' party man ', and had no scruples in playing the game with all the weapons in his power. He sat again in 1713 ; was Paymaster of the Forces in George I's first Ministry ; played a leading, but merciful, part in the impeachment of St. John, Ormonde, and Harley ; became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1715, and played a less merciful part in the trials of the Jacobite peers of the ' Fifteen ' ; resigned office in consequence of the intrigues of Sunderland in 1717, and so was out of place when the South Sea Bubble, in which, by prudent, but quite legitimate, speculation, he made a large fortune, came to burst. While in Opposition he secured the rejection of the Peerage Bill—a great service to the cause of constitutional government. Called, on the fall of Stanhope and

Sunderland, to undo their mistake, he resumed the two great offices of State, with his brother-in-law Townshend as colleague, in 1721; and his great financial skill saved England from one of the worst of her money panics. It was then that Walpole refused a peerage for himself, for he saw that in the Lower House the real power was, for good or evil, henceforth to reside. The rest of George I's reign was comparatively quiet, and Walpole, always the most placable of men, readily agreed to the reversal of the attainder of his past and future enemy Bolingbroke, who at once began to intrigue against him and to inspire the *Craftsman* newspaper from 1726. George II, as Prince of Wales, had always been hostile to his father's Minister, but Walpole had already made friends with Caroline, and a solid bribe of an extra £100,000 a year for the Civil List completed, after a brief moment's anxiety, the subjugation of the avaricious new monarch. Then that terrible 'Opposition', first welded together by the craft of Pulteney and Bolingbroke, but successively joined by the unscrupulous talent of Chesterfield, the high honesty of Carteret, the loud-yelping throng of the 'boy-patriots' like Pitt, Lyttelton, and the Grenvilles, who only desired place and office, began in earnest and never ceased to gather force for fifteen years. Townshend, a dull, irascible but honest colleague, was the first to leave his brother-in-law, 1730. Walpole's one great defeat, on the Excise scheme, shook the Ministry badly in 1734. The King's, and even the Queen's, desire to go to war in the 'Polish Succession' quarrel had been causing him anxiety before that, but was most dangerous in that same year. Each general election weakened his majority a little. The Porteous riots in 1736 lost him all the favour he ever had in Scotland. The open patronage of the Opposition by Frederick Prince of Wales gathered greater force in 1737; the death of Queen Caroline was the worst blow of all. His own health, always liable to be upset by gout, now began to be seriously impaired by the torture of the stone. And on the top of all this came in 1738 a louder and louder outcry for war with Spain; the incident of the ear of Robert Jenkins (which the Spanish coastguard probably did *not* cut off) occurred in March of that

year. Walpole's 'Convention' with Spain of 1739 was a feeble time-serving measure and failed to avert war, which was declared in that October.

Henceforth it was a mere fight with his back to the wall. Argyll left him in 1740, and took all Scotland with him. Horace Walpole records, day after day, in his letters to Mann, the tiny majorities by which Sir Robert just held his own down to January 1742. He resigned in February and took his earldom. He was very nearly impeached for alleged peculation, and all sorts of secret committees sat to collect evidence, for which they even offered a public reward, till Lord Hardwicke told them it was a crime to offer such things. Nothing really dishonourable, no use of secret service money which was not thoroughly in accordance with the custom of the age, could be proved against Lord Orford; and we may rest quite assured that, whomsoever he had bribed for his country's sake, his own hands were clean from gifts. Though often in excruciating bodily pain Walpole took his fall with the same gallant serenity with which he had fought his fight. The King, who by now was really attached to him, constantly consulted him in private; and public opinion rallied most pleasantly to the game old statesman. He died just in time not to see the legitimist rising of the 'Forty-five' which he had always dreaded, and had done so much to defer.

Walpole was a man of coarse manners, morals, and language; after the death of his first wife in 1737, he married his mistress, who had lived with him since 1728. He was recklessly extravagant in adding to his fine house at Houghton, and, careful steward as he was of the nation's wealth, he left his own affairs heavily embarrassed. He had, or others had for him, great taste in art, and collected a splendid gallery of pictures. He was no patron of literature, and so 'Grub Street' railed at him; but Doctor Johnson did not rail. England missed Walpole very badly when he had gone.

HENRY PELHAM

(1695?–1754)

Prime Minister of George II, was a younger son of the first Lord Pelham and a brother of Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle. He was at Westminster and Hart Hall, Oxford, and entered Parliament in 1717. He was a loyal supporter of Walpole throughout his long Ministry, and well he might be, for he had been made Paymaster in 1730. In the Ministry which was really Carteret's, Pelham succeeded Wilmington as nominal head, and worked secretly, with his brother Newcastle, to overthrow Carteret and to reverse the war policy of George II. In the former of these aims the brothers were successful, and owing to the advice of the fallen Walpole, now Earl of Orford, the so-called 'Broad-bottom' Administration came in, and Pelham was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury; but the result of Carteret's fall was to leave the Hanoverian interest to face the Legitimist rising of 1745 with a weak and vacillating Minister instead of a strong and brave one. In order to get quit of the ceaseless opposition of the noisy 'patriot' group, Pelham and Newcastle forced the King, sorely against his will, to take Pitt into the Ministry, and threw up their offices in order to effect this *coup* in the very crisis of the insurrection (February 1746). Pelham's aims were peaceful at and after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in spite of a quarrel with his brother Newcastle (a far worse intriguer and jobber than himself); and some useful measures, such as the reduction of the interest on the National Debt to 3½ and, after a term of years, to 3 per cent., the reform of the Calendar, and Hardwicke's Marriage Act, were got through; even Carteret, now Lord Granville, essentially a placable person, accepted a seat in the Cabinet; and King George, who had no previous reason to love his Minister, regretted him when, in the absurd phrase of Garrick's Ode on him, 'Pelham fled to Heaven' in



THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES, FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G.
From a drawing by William Hoare, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery



HENRY PELHAM
From a portrait by J. Shackleton in the National Portrait Gallery

1754. He was least weak in finance, weakest in all that concerned the defence and honour of Great Britain abroad, and did most dangerously reduce both the Army and the Navy at a time when France might at any moment fly at our throats. He systematized the 'management' of the House of Commons by the gift of places, pensions, titles, ribbons, bishoprics, and offices in the civil, military, and naval service ; for in truth his main aim was to remain Prime Minister, and therefore to avoid adverse votes in Parliament. His private life was respectable.

Johnson's reasonable 'Toryism' must be allowed to have been largely stimulated by the fact that Pelham with his 'system' loomed large as the arch-Whig ; Whiggism Johnson allowed to have been a respectable creed, with principles, in 1688 ; under Pelham it had become a mere party distinction no better than 'the politics of stock-jobbers, and the religion of infidels'. Horace Walpole quoted to Conway some satirical lines, in which Pelham is well taken off as 'Plumbosus' and his shifty timidity is held up to ridicule ; Horace is, indeed, full of sneers and witticisms against Pelham, but he goes too far when he accuses him of having treated his father badly ; after all it was Pelham who was chosen to make to the King Lord Orford's modest request for a pension of £4,000 a year.

THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES

FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

(1693-1768)

politician, was a son of the first Lord Pelham, and was, by his mother's side, of the family of that Denzil Holles who had been a leader of the Opposition in the reigns of both the Charles's. He was educated at Westminster and Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was one of the first Whigs gratified by George I with two rapidly successive steps in the peerage, getting his Dukedom in 1715. He became, by several marriages, a connexion of the houses of Townshend, of Walpole, of Godolphin, of Churchill, and of Spencer, and he was one of the richest men in England. All these connexions he used, and nearly all of his immense fortune he sacrificed, to his one passion, that of controlling the votes of the House of Commons and the backstairs of the Court. His own hands were quite innocent of receiving bribes, though deeply soiled by the giving of them. In private life he was gentle, kind, and well liked, but his public career is an almost unique record of treachery, conspiracy, timidity, and failure, from the day when, in 1717, he deserted Townshend for Sunderland, to the day when, to his immense astonishment, Bute kicked him contemptuously downstairs in 1762.

His first serious office was that of joint Secretary of State in Walpole's Government in 1724, and for many years he played his loved part as jobber for the benefit of that robust statesman, but gradually began to draw away from him, and might have done so earlier but for the sensible advice which Hardwicke never ceased to give him ; when Walpole's fall became certain, Newcastle grew frightened and rallied to him again too late. He retained the seals in Carteret's Ministry, but early schemed with his brother Henry, in the most shameful fashion, to overthrow Carteret, for which George II never forgave him. Again, at the beginning of 1746, while the Scottish insurrection was going full

blast, Newcastle and Pelham suddenly embarrassed the King by resigning office in order to compel him to admit Pitt to the Cabinet ; and for no reason except that Pitt was making their lives a burden to them in the debates. The Duke's reward seemed to come when, on his brother's death in 1754, he became Prime Minister. But it was at a most critical period in history ; every day was bringing nearer the great outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and, what Newcastle dreaded more than war, a combination of the various Whig groups, of ' patriots ' and disappointed rivals whom he had offended, against himself in Parliament. Somebody had to be found—that was always the Duke's first instinct—to bolster up his majority in the Lower House, be it Henry Fox, be it William Pitt, be it any coalition of the two with himself, which could leave to him the thing which had become with him a passion, a game for the game's sake, the winning on division lists in the Houses, the thwarting of his Sovereign in the closet. In the winning of battles in the field or at sea, when the inevitable war did come, Newcastle had much less interest, had in fact only interest in proportion as such successes would maintain his own control of the machine at Westminster. Thus we know how he lost Minorca and Hanover, and very nearly lost India and America (1756-7), nay, very nearly suffered an invasion of Britain, rather than lose control of that machine. His main idea of defence was to send for Hessians and Hanoverians to garrison Kent ; to increase the British Army, or to call out the Militia, would be to evoke the ' spirit of militarism ', which he dreaded like any modern Radical. When the loss of Minorca at last caused his temporary resignation his old rival Carteret told him frankly—' You are now served as you and your brother served me.' When Newcastle came back into office, sheltered by Pitt with an angry nation at his back, and found himself powerless, he began to intrigue against Pitt, at whose terrible ideas of saving the nation by its own exertions he shivered ; and, after the accession of George III, his intrigue, backed by Bute, was successful.

Then the Duke became afraid of his own success, and just as much

afraid of deserting our ally Frederick of Prussia (as Bute recklessly wished to do) as he had been of supporting him before Bute came on the scene. Bute dismissed him, in spite of his humiliating prayers, and Fox, once his own jackal, stripped him of all his Court and County offices. He held a minor office in Rockingham's brief Government in 1765-6, and then closed his political career. It is true that many of the stories of his tergiversations and his timidities, of how he 'went about wringing his hands' and complaining of every one, of his ignorance of geography, and so forth, come from Horace Walpole, who hated and despised him; but even recent discoveries in State and private papers have done little to rehabilitate him. His career, which so nearly ended as a tragedy for Great Britain, has a distinct element of comedy in it; and therein he is the principal, if unconscious, comedian.

FREDERICK LOUIS, PRINCE OF WALES

(1707-1751)

eldest son of George II and Caroline of Anspach, and father of George III, was born at Hanover. He was, in his cradle and for a long time after he left it, the unconscious subject of negotiations between the Hanoverian and Prussian Houses for a 'double marriage' between their children, Frederick's destined bride being that Wilhelmina, afterwards Margravine of Baireuth, whose *Memoirs* were so fully utilized by Carlyle in his History of her brother Frederick the Great. In spite of the growing personal hatred between Frederick's father and the King of Prussia, the project was not wholly abandoned until after the Prince came to England, which was in 1728. He had then already embarked upon the career of opposition, so dear in those days to the heirs apparent of his astonishing family. It is less easy to understand his mother's hatred of him than his father's, for Queen Caroline was not only a



FREDERICK LEWIS, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.
From the portrait by Bartholomew Dandridge in the
National Portrait Gallery



RICHARD NASH (BEAU NASH)
From a mezzotint by F. Faber from a
portrait by Thomas Hudson



HORATIO, FIRST BARON WALPOLE
From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter uncertain



CHARLES TOWNSHEND, P.C.
From a mezzotint by J. Dixon from a portrait by
Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.

woman of great intellectual power, but was often unselfish and was capable of enduring much. But she continually wished her son Frederick was dead, and on her own deathbed refused to see him. It was not difficult for the shallow vapid fellow to court popularity with a nation which disliked his father more than a little ; and the Prince's successive residences naturally became the centres of the Opposition, first to Sir Robert Walpole's Ministry, and after Walpole's fall to whatever Ministry was in office. ' Leicester House ' also set itself up as a centre of literary patronage, and some mediocre poets were received there. It was the King, however, who in 1736 made the marriage for Frederick with the strong-willed Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and perhaps he made it in order to have the pleasure of settling on the pair, out of the Civil List, only half the income which he himself had enjoyed when Prince of Wales. Frederick appealed to Parliament for more, and got a good many votes in support of his appeal. There were several subsequent efforts to reconcile the King and the Prince, but none were of avail ; the whole story is a very sordid one, infinitely worse than that of the relation between George I and Frederick's father, and a good deal worse than that between Frederick's son and the future George IV. Frederick himself we may fairly set down as the member of his family most contemptible to his contemporaries, most negligible by history ; he was given to vulgar immorality, he was a natural liar, very unscrupulous about money, and, unfortunately for him, he was never called upon to show whether he possessed the personal courage which was the heritage of his race :

But since it 's only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There 's no more to be said.

RICHARD NASH

(1674-1762)

commonly called 'Beau Nash', was the son of a Welsh glass-manufacturer, and was for a time at Jesus College, Oxford. He studied law at the Temple, and made money by gambling. Early in the eighteenth century he established himself at Bath, where he rapidly passed from a self-elected to a universally accepted leader of society, and 'Master of the Ceremonies' among the gay and frivolous crowd at that watering-place. He organized subscription balls and assemblies, and drew up a code of dress and deportment of both sexes. These rules he enforced with firmness and good-humour even upon the greatest ladies. He gambled successfully himself, and probably had a share in the profits of the public gaming-tables, until these were partially suppressed by legislative enactments in the middle of the century. Nash then became poor and died at a great age, in receipt of a small pension from the Corporation of Bath. He is now best remembered from the fact that Goldsmith wrote a *Life* of him, which he professed to have 'extracted from his original papers'. It was published anonymously in 1762. The gentle satirist gives his subject much faint praise for good nature and generosity, especially for the kind warnings he gave to young ladies against the sharpers and adventurers with whom his kingdom was peopled. Nash sometimes humorously called himself 'a beau of three generations', and his biographer classifies the successive ages over which this Nestor had ruled by the wigs they had worn: 'He had seen flaxen bobs succeeded by majors, which in their turn gave way to negligents, which were at last totally routed by bags and ramillees. The manner in which gentlemen managed their amours, in these different ages of fashion, were not more different than their perriwigs.' But, concludes the author, 'he who laughed at the whim-

sical character and behaviour of this Monarch of Bath, now laments that he is no more.'

Less charitable, if more to the purpose, was John Wesley, who tackled the Beau in the heyday of his power. When Wesley appeared and preached in Bath, Nash tried to argue that he was defying the Conventicle Act, and that his preaching 'frightened people out of their wits'. He admitted that he knew this only 'by common report'. 'Common report', replied the Evangelist, 'is not enough to go by; is not your name Nash? I dare not judge of *you* by common report.'

H O R A T I O W A L P O L E

FIRST BARON WALPOLE

(1678-1757)

diplomatist and younger brother of the famous Sir Robert, was son of Robert Walpole of Houghton, Norfolk, and Mary Burrell, or Burwell, a Suffolk lady. He was educated at Eton and King's, and became member for Castle Rising in Anne's first Parliament. He sat subsequently for several other pocket-boroughs, of which Great Yarmouth was (at least in size) the least disreputable. He held diplomatic posts in Spain and at the Hague, and became Secretary to the Treasury in King George's first Government; a manifest family job, as Sir Robert was now Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1717, having secured a comfortable sinecure for life, Horatio followed his brother out of office, and returned together with him upon the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, 1720. But his real talents were for diplomacy, and for the underhand intrigues which in those days were deemed necessary for its success. Thus in 1723 he contrived to oust our official Ambassador at Paris, and to take his place. To him was entrusted the task of winning Cardinal Fleury over to an *entente* with England and Prussia in 1727;

to him, too, the Treaty of Seville, which brought reluctant Spain into line with these allies to the discomfiture of Austria. Sir Robert wished Horatio to succeed to Townshend's Secretaryship of State in 1730, but Horatio refused, and acted as British representative at the Hague from 1733 till 1740. Henceforth he was not employed abroad, but was a constant attendant in Parliament, and a loyal champion of his brother until Robert's death. He was disliked but consulted by George II, in spite of his constant advocacy of a Prussian alliance; he was also consulted successively by Pelham and Newcastle, being raised to the peerage by the latter in 1756. But, knowing all secrets and being able to probe all characters, he was trusted by few people and disliked by many, by none more than his more famous nephew Horace, who has left a most unfavourable picture of his character and person.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND

(1725-1767)

politician, was the son of the third Viscount Townshend and of Audrey Harrison. He was thus the grandson of Walpole's colleague, the second Viscount. Readers of Horace Walpole's letters are only too familiar with his mother 'my Lady Townshend', always classed with 'my Lady Orford' on a bad eminence. Her son was educated at Leyden, entered the House of Commons in 1747, and began to hold minor office in 1754. He made a great impression in the House by the vigour and splendour of his oratory, which long afterwards was fondly remembered by Burke; but he was known as an unstable politician as early as 1763, when, after accepting a post (the Board of Trade) under Bute, and another place under Grenville, he resigned the latter in *pique* and at once denounced all Grenville's measures; then turned round and became, in the last year of the same Government, Paymaster-General. He retained this rich office under Rockingham, while attacking

Rockingham's measures. Chatham, with singular lack of judgement, made him his Chancellor of the Exchequer ; and, as soon as Chatham fell ill and Townshend had been defeated on a land tax, he did exactly the thing which Chatham would have least wished, namely, proposed to raise some of the deficit by a series of small taxes levied upon the American colonists, and thereby reawakened the irritation which the repeal of the Stamp Act had partially soothed. Before the result of this measure could be seen Townshend died in his forty-third year, 1767. His fame is a good illustration of one of the weakest points in our ancestors of the eighteenth century—their willingness to let the gift of mere words (usually bombastic and insincere) atone for faithlessness and instability of character. It is difficult to gather that Townshend possessed any other gift.

JAMES WOLFE

(1727-1759)

General, was the son of Major-General Wolfe, who was of Irish descent, and of Henrietta Thompson. He was born at Westerham in Kent, and around his Kentish home Thackeray has woven one of the loveliest of the detached idylls in *The Virginians*. James, 'a remarkably ugly boy with a shock of red hair and a turned-up nose', entered the service at fourteen, and was acting adjutant of his regiment (the 'Twelfth') at Dettingen two years later. He served in the 'Fourth' under Wade in Flanders, missed Fontenoy, was with Hawley at Falkirk, and with Cumberland (on the staff) at Culloden ; he was wounded at Lawfeldt, 1747.

During the peace, being quartered, as acting Lieutenant-Colonel of the 'Twentieth', at various places in Scotland and England, Wolfe became the model of a regimental officer, and not only trained and disciplined his men with scrupulous care, but did his best to instruct

himself in the art of war and in all kindred subjects. Though himself a favourite of Cumberland's, he was one of the first people to perceive and to lament the stupidity and brutality of the soldiers of the Hawley and Braddock type whom Cumberland constantly patronized. Ignorance and stupidity were at the bottom of our failures in the recent war, and Wolfe did not endear himself to all his brother-officers by declaring his opinion to that effect. With great difficulty he got leave to go to Paris for a few months in 1752-3 to perfect his French, and would fain have been allowed to see something of the French and other continental armies, but this was not allowed. It is particularly interesting to see that, in the invasion scare of 1755, he, like John Moore half a century later, had exercised his regiment in particular tactics to repel a landing. In the brief space of life that was left him he was destined on three occasions to grapple with this problem from the other side; on the first occasion, the abortive attack on Rochefort, 1757, he profited by the lesson of failure; at Louisburg under Amherst, nine months later, he led his division of the landing party to success through an Atlantic surf and under a withering fire. He then urged the General to hasten to attack Quebec at once, and because this was not done went home on the plea of ill-health rather than wait inactive at Halifax all the winter. But his keenness for the offensive recommended him to Pitt, who chose him at the end of 1758 to command the Quebec expedition in the coming year. Quebec was now fortified to the teeth, and the story of the terrible months of anxiety, as fleet and army lay in the St. Lawrence and entrenched on its banks, yet unable to get at the French or the city, while Wolfe himself, only thirty-two years old, crippled with stone, rheumatism, and fever, saw failure staring him in the face, is well known to all. The French commander Montcalm played Fabius to perfection. Wolfe's battalions suffered a murderous repulse in an attack on Montcalm's lines at the end of July; neither Monckton, Townshend, nor Murray, Wolfe's own brigadiers, put much confidence in their General; and it is not quite certain by whom the final decision, to land at the Anse du Foulon and attempt to climb the Heights of



JAMES WOLFE

From a portrait by Joseph Highmore in the National Portrait Gallery

Abraham, was first suggested. But Wolfe took full responsibility for it, if he were not the first to think of it. His soldiers to a man adored him, and he could reckon on them to follow him anywhere. The men could only scramble up two hundred feet of a goat-path in single file, but, an hour after dawn on September 13, 4,500 British with one light field-gun stood on a level plain within a mile of the walls of Quebec. Montcalm made his one fatal mistake by advancing to the attack, but his best regiments were too far away to be gathered in time, and his force was driven back in confusion within the walls. Wolfe, hit three times, lived, as we all know, long enough to learn that 'they run'; Montcalm was carried dying into the city. Quebec need not have surrendered, but it did so at once.

The impression made in England was perhaps out of proportion to the result; but it was not out of proportion to the amazing daring of Wolfe's plan of attack; and the General's name, his character, his youth, his tender-heartedness, caught the popular imagination. There is no reason to dispute the truth of the famous story how, as they stole down tide in the boats on the night of 12th-13th, Wolfe, to keep his tingling nerves quiet, repeated Gray's *Elegy*, and said that he would rather have written it than take Quebec. Such a *saga* was quite in keeping with his high-strung gallant temperament.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

(1721-1765)

second surviving son of George II and Queen Caroline, was born at Leicester House, and was at first destined for the Navy. But he preferred the Army and saw his first active service under his father at Dettingen. He was wounded there in the leg, and though his wound healed for the time it caused him trouble all his life. He was not engaged in 1744, but in April 1745, having been appointed 'Captain-General', that is to say, practically Commander-in-Chief, of the British Army, joined the Dutch-Hanoverian-Austrian forces in Flanders, and was with them defeated after a most gallant resistance at Fontenoy; the battle was fought in an attempt to relieve Tournay, then besieged by Marshal Saxe. There were no two opinions about the Duke's bravery and activity in this great battle, and the Austrian general Königsegg set a high value on his services; but there were two opinions about the usefulness of his ubiquity on the field. He was recalled to England in October to take over the command against Prince Charles Edward, who had already occupied Edinburgh and defeated Cope at Prestonpans. Cumberland found his father's Army divided; one portion standing fast, to the west of Newcastle, under Wade, the other, from whose command Ligonier had just been invalided, about Lichfield. He took over this corps at the end of November, but allowed the Highlanders to slip past him and to reach Derby while he was moving upon Stone; he seems to have had some fear that they would make a move upon North Wales. When their retreat began on December 6 he hurried after them as best he could, and managed with his mounted troopers to get into an action with their rearguard at Clifton near Penrith; he also recaptured Carlisle. The Duke then returned to London, but, on the news that the Jacobites had beaten Hawley at



WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, K.G.

From the portrait by William Hogarth in the Victoria and Albert Museum



JOHN MANNERS, MARQUIS OF GRANBY

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle

Falkirk, went north again and entered Edinburgh at the end of January 1746. Whoever in England was afraid, 'Billy Cumberland' was not, and his appearance at once put heart into the soldiers, who had been thoroughly demoralized by the Highlanders' fierce charges. He advanced to hold the lines first of the Forth and then of the Tay, and moving up the east coast concentrated at Aberdeen towards the end of February. He spent the next six weeks in gathering supplies and transport, and in training his soldiers to face the claymore. Then, moving always by the coast, he met the Highland Army, whom he outnumbered by nearly two to one, at Culloden, a few miles east of Inverness. When he had won the battle of April 16, he gave orders for the systematic extirpation of all 'rebels' who should be found concealed in the Highlands, for the burning of all houses where they could find shelter, and for the driving off of all cattle. This was interpreted to mean the killing or burning of all Highlanders found wounded or with arms in their hands, and Cumberland did nothing to soften such an interpretation of his orders. Hence came his well-known sobriquet of the 'Butcher', which was given to him in London as early as August. The troops to whom he entrusted this task of 'pacification' consisted not only of English regiments, but also of the Whig clans, themselves in many cases eager to pay off the family feuds of centuries. Cumberland remained in the Highlands till the third week in July superintending the execution of these orders. It must be remembered, if we are to weigh the Duke's character fairly, first, that his general orders show all promiscuous plundering and marauding to have been sternly repressed; secondly, that a campaign in such a country could best be brought to a close, from a military point of view, by a systematic reduction of the people to starvation; and thirdly, that the Jacobites were extremely influential in London, and spread many tales of his personal brutality, to none of which credence need now be attached. Probably if he had not been so corpulent and personally so repulsive, and if his private morals had been better, the name of the 'Butcher' might not have continued to stick to him.

He went to the Low Countries again in the early spring of 1747 to find that Saxe was already knocking at the gates of the United Provinces, and in July the Marshal gave Cumberland a beating at Lawfeldt, a beating for which the failure both of Dutch and Austrians to co-operate was chiefly to blame. After the Peace of 1748, the Duke continued to hold the Command-in-Chief, and made some useful reforms in the administration of the Army. At least he introduced a stricter system of discipline for the officers, curtailed their leave, reduced their absurd field-equipages, and taught them that war was a serious business. But he quite failed to recommend himself to the nation at large; when his elder brother Frederick died, people were heard to exclaim, 'Oh that it had been the Butcher!' And Parliament, ignoring King George's wish, refused to give him anything more than a seat on that Council of Regency which was provided by the Bill of 1751 in the event of a demise of the Crown during the minority of the heir. The Duke was still an opponent of Pitt, and, when he was sent, in the beginning of 1757, to take command of the Hanoverian Army on the Weser, he insisted on his father's dismissing Pitt before he started. He was beaten by the French commander d'Estrées at Hastenbeck at the end of July, and retreated northwards towards Stade; when he received full powers from his father (who cared only for the safety of his Electorate) to conclude a treaty of neutrality for Hanover. He accordingly concluded the Convention of Klosterzeven in September with the new French commander Richelieu, who had hemmed him in with a force immensely superior to his own. George II, who had unquestionably authorized his son to save Hanover at any price, had the meanness to rate him for doing so, and the Convention was disavowed by the British Ministry; Richelieu had himself given some excuse for this action by violating some minor points of its terms.

The Duke returned to London, and (it must be admitted) bore his position of scapegoat and his father's treatment with silent fortitude; but he was obliged to resign his post of Commander-in-Chief. Wolfe described this resignation as a 'public calamity'. George III

when he became King treated his uncle with studied courtesy, and, to the dismay of most wise men, consulted him not only on the appointments of military officers, but also on the formation of his early Ministries. The Duke was now quite ready to be reconciled to his old antagonist Pitt, and was successively the enemy of Bute and of George Grenville. But he had always lived a profligate life, and probably undermined his constitution thereby, for he was only in his forty-fifth year when he died, and he had long been ill. It is quite possible to dislike the Duke of Cumberland as a martinet and a tyrant, and yet to admit that he had some qualities that were sorely needed in the service of his day. If his favourite officers were often men of the brutal type of Hawley or Braddock, or of the incapable type of Albemarle, he was also the patron of Wolfe and of Conway ; and Ligonier, probably the greatest British commander between Marlborough and Wellington, always believed in him. Mr. Fortescue, however, puts the matter too strongly when he calls him ' the ablest man which his family has produced during the two centuries of its reign in England '.

JOHN MANNERS MARQUIS OF GRANBY

(1721-1770)

General, eldest son of the Duke of Rutland, was at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge, sat in Parliament from 1741 till his death, and raised, with the assistance of his family, a regiment to fight for King George in the 'Forty-five'. He was at Culloden, and at what followed after Culloden, but his regiment was disbanded at the end of that year. His next service was in Flanders; but it was in the Seven Years' War, and in Prince Ferdinand's army, that his real opportunity for distinction came. He was then a Lieutenant-General; and it was at the battle of Minden that the famous incident occurred, in which Lord George Sackville refused to allow the British cavalry to charge and complete the rout begun by the magnificent advance of Waldegrave's and Kingsley's brigades of infantry. Granby commanded the second line of Sackville's squadrons, and was about to charge without orders, when Sackville rode up and forbade him to do so. Sackville was sent home and court-martialled, and Granby succeeded to his command. In the remainder of the war Granby's cavalry, always led by himself in person, performed a series of brilliant exploits, and helped to win battle after battle, Warburg, Vellinghausen, Willhelmsthal, and Cassel, for Ferdinand. He took the Ordnance Office after the Peace (1763), and succeeded Ligonier as Commander-in-Chief in 1767, but he was no administrator, and, happily for him, no politician. He was also a hard drinker, and quite incapable of keeping out of debt, his generosity having led him to spend much on his regiment during the war; and he died heavily encumbered. He was the victim of some of the fiercest attacks of 'Junius'. Some readers may remember that his name was immortalized on the sign of a certain inn at Dorking.

WILLIAM CADOGAN

FIRST EARL CADOGAN

(1675-1726)

son of an Irish barrister and grandson of a stout Cromwellian soldier, served under William III in Ireland and in the Low Countries, and was Marlborough's Quarter-master-General and right hand through the War of the Spanish Succession. The victories of Schellenberg (where he was wounded), Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet owed much to his excellent execution of the great commander's plans; so did the sieges of Douay and Bouchain. He retained his place even under Marlborough's successor Ormonde, but did not return to England at the end of 1712. He served in the civil capacity of Ambassador to the United Provinces in 1707, and had a seat in Parliament from 1705 onwards. He was made Lieutenant of the Tower in 1710, but was involved in the disgrace which it pleased the ungrateful English Government to throw upon Marlborough at the close of his career of victory, and in 1712 was deprived of his Lieutenancy and rank in the Army. He regained Court favour and rank on the accession of George I, went again as Minister to the United Provinces, succeeded Argyll in the command of the Hanoverian Army against the Jacobites in the campaign in Scotland in 1715-16, and finished off that task with energy and cruelty. His peerage was the result of his success. In the next year, 1717, he was accused of peculation (apparently as a party move started by the Jacobites, but followed up by some of the out-of-place Whigs), acquitted, and made an Earl. He succeeded Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief in 1722, and had a lawsuit with Duchess Sarah about some money of the Duke with which he had been entrusted.

Mr. Fortescue expresses the highest opinion of his abilities as a soldier and military administrator; the opinion of contemporaries on his career as a Minister in Holland was not so favourable.

GEORGE WADE

(1673-1748)

Field-marshal, is believed to have been descended from a family of Cromwellian soldiers settled in Ireland. His first commission (in the 'Tenth') was dated 1690; he served in Flanders in the wars of William and at the beginning of the Spanish Succession War. He was Adjutant-General in Galway's expedition to the Peninsula in 1705, and distinguished himself at the defeat of Almanza. He helped to capture Minorca in 1708, and commanded a brigade at Saragossa in 1710. During the Insurrection of 1715 he was employed in the not very arduous task of overawing the West of England. In the brief Spanish War of 1719 he took Vigo. In 1725 he was sent upon the really important work of his life, by which he is now best remembered, the creation of the military roads into and through the Highlands of Scotland, and the partial disarmament of the fighting clans. He raised in that year four companies of Highlanders to serve King George, and so founded the famous 'Black Watch'. He built bridges and forts as well as roads, and carried out his task with due regard to the feelings of the country. He was promoted Field-marshal in 1743, and held, in succession to Stair, the Command-in-Chief in the War of the Austrian Succession. The Allies in Flanders were inferior in numbers to the French; the Dutch had not yet declared war and were most anxious not to do so; the Austrians for their part would simply do nothing. The French meanwhile were commanded by Marshal Saxe, and, as Carlyle says, 'a Saxe against a Wade was fearful odds'. Saxe, in fact, appeared to have the game in his hands until 1744, when the irruption of Karl of Lorraine into Alsace compelled a great weakening of the French left wing. Wade, however, threw up his post and was made Commander-in-Chief in England, being then in his seventy-first year. No less great than in Flanders in 1743-4 were the odds in England in October 1745,



WILLIAM, FIRST EARL CADOGAN, K.T.
From the portrait by Louis Laguerre in the
National Portrait Gallery



FIELD-MARSHAL GEORGE WADE
From a mezzotint by J. Faber of a portrait by
J. van Diest



ADMIRAL GEORGE BYNG, VISCOUNT
TORRINGTON
From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the
Gallery at Greenwich Hospital



ADMIRAL EDWARD BOSCAWEN
From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
in the National Portrait Gallery

when the swift and able strategy of Lord George Murray was pitted against the heavy foot of the good old Field-Marshal of King George. Wade slowly concentrated such British regiments as were left in Britain or could be recalled from the Continent, and such Dutch troops as the States-General could send ; he also called out the Militia. From Doncaster he lumbered on to Newcastle, was deceived by Murray's feint at the Lower Tweed, marched across as far as the junction of the two Tynes, only to learn that Murray had slipped past him, taken Carlisle, and was in full advance to the South. He failed equally to make any attempt to intercept Murray's retreat to Scotland in December, simply standing fast on the Border ' with his feet in the snow '. This failure was the end of Wade's career ; and it at least saved him from having any hand in Culloden and in what followed Culloden.

Wade sat long in the House of Commons, and was chiefly remarkable there as an opponent in 1733 of Lord Morpeth's energetic attack on Walpole for dismissing officers from the Army on political grounds ; on that occasion he, who remembered Marlborough's wars, stated publicly that the discipline of the Army was very bad. He himself had the reputation of being an excellent disciplinarian.

GEORGE BYNG
VISCOUNT TORRINGTON

(1663-1733)

son of an impoverished Kentish squire, entered the Navy of Charles II at an early age, and, for a time, held a commission in the Army as well. He saw service at Tangier and in the East Indies before the Revolution, adhered to King William at that event, and was posted to his first command at the end of 1688 ; in his own *Memoirs* he says that he was ' one of those that were industrious to possess the Fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange '. He served under Herbert (Lord Torrington) at Beachy Head, and was a favourite of Herbert's rival Russell (Lord Orford) ; he attained flag rank in 1703, and commanded squadrons under Shovell and Rooke, sharing in the capture of Gibraltar and in the victory off Malaga (1704) ; he scattered the French fleet which threatened an invasion of Scotland in 1708, and became a Lord of the Admiralty in 1709. His most famous exploit, however, was the destruction of the large but disorderly Spanish fleet, before any declaration of war, off the Sicilian coast at Cape Passaro in 1718. He obtained his peerage in 1721, and became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1727, holding the office till his death. He was the father of the unfortunate Admiral John Byng, who was shot in 1757 for his negligence in failing to do his utmost for the relief of Minorca.

EDWARD BOSCAWEN

(1711-1761)

Admiral, son of the first Lord Falmouth (a great Cornish Whig magnate), and by his mother's side a great-nephew of the famous Duke of Marlborough, joined the Navy in 1726 and got his first command in 1737. He was under Vernon on the West India station in the Spanish War of 1739-41, and distinguished himself at Carthagená. He sat in Parliament from 1741. He was wounded in Anson's great victory off the Spanish coast in 1747, and attained flag rank after the action. He was on the East India Station in Clive's war against Dupleix, and failed, not by his own fault, to take Pondichéry. He was a Lord of the Admiralty from 1751 till his death, and in 1755 he opened the Seven Years' War (before it was declared) on the North American station. In 1758 it was he who commanded the naval part of the expedition to Louisburg, with Amherst and Wolfe at the head of the troops destined for the conquest of Canada. His greatest and last opportunity came in 1759, when, in command of a squadron of fourteen ships-of-the-line, he sailed for the Mediterranean to blockade Toulon. He tried to tempt the French to come out and fight him, and, while he was refitting at Gibraltar in the month of August, they did come out ; though only half ready for sea Boscawen at once made sail, and fell on his enemy, who, by his own fault, had got separated into two squadrons. He beat one of these squadrons to pieces, violating the neutrality of Portugal at Lagos Bay in doing so. The other squadron got shut up in Cadiz ; and Boscawen's victory, followed by Hawke's in November of the same year, put an end to all fear of the invasion of England during the Seven Years' War.

Boscawen had most of the good luck, and Hawke most of the ill luck, during that war, and Pitt set a higher value on the former than on the latter. ' When I apply to other officers respecting any expedition

I may project', said he to Boscawen, 'they make difficulties; you find expedients.' A strict disciplinarian, Boscawen was most careful of the health of his crews, who adored him by the name of his first ship-of-the-line as 'Old Dreadnought'. Indeed he was a 'bonny fighter'.

GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL

(1685-1759)

musician, was the son of a surgeon, and was born at Halle in Germany; he was educated at the *gymnasium* of that city, and early displayed such a passion for music that his father, who wished him to be a lawyer, forbade him to practise his favourite art. But a wise patron, the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, prevailed on the elder Handel to change his mind and to allow his son a musical education. When the boy was only seventeen he was made organist of the Protestant cathedral in his native place, but he quitted that office in the next year, went to Hamburg, and, at nineteen, conducted the opera there; there too in his twentieth year he produced his own first opera, *Almira*, with astonishing success. He went to Italy for the first time in 1707, and had a specially good reception in Florence and in Rome; he also visited Naples and then Venice, where his opera *Agrippina* attracted the attention of some Hanoverian and English gentlemen, and these probably invited him to visit both Hanover and England; and so, on his way home, he came to the former Court, at which the Elector, afterwards George I, wished to retain him. Handel went to London late in 1710 and brought out his great opera *Rinaldo*, visited Hanover once more, but finally settled in London in 1712. The success of *Rinaldo* was overwhelming; Queen Anne gave the composer a pension of £200 a year, and he was naturalized a British subject in 1726. For



GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL

From the portrait by Sir James Thornhill in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

at least half his long life in England Handel was best known as a composer of operas ; it has been stated that he wrote as many as forty-six, the staging of which he himself undertook at his own risk, not always with great financial success ; his pension (increased in later years to £600 a year) and the patronage of such enlightened people as the Duke of Chandos, at whose house he spent two years (1718-20), enabled him as a rule to live comfortably, but his theatrical speculations occasionally landed him in straits. The taste of an English public for music is notoriously changeable, and, in the eighteenth as in later centuries, was often a matter of ' fashion '. Thus, the Royal Family had but one cultivated taste, music ; but, as that family was profoundly unpopular with the largest section of society, its favourite Handel was for a time completely ' boycotted ' and was obliged to conduct some of his best music in a theatre half-empty of listeners, while his rival Buononcini was being played to crowded houses. Handel had already before 1720 written the beautiful cantata of *Acis and Galatea*, the *Chandos Anthems*, and his first oratorio *Esther*, and these had been occasionally performed in the seasons of Lent ; and therefore, as opera began to fail him, he turned definitely in the direction of oratorio, which cost far less to produce. It would be a mistake to imagine a religious basis for this change ; Handel was a man of deep religious feeling, but he was not specially, perhaps he was not at all, ' orthodox ' ; and, with the exception of *The Messiah*, his oratorios are just dramatic stories based as a rule upon the most dramatic themes to be found in the Old Testament : Deborah, Athaliah, Miriam, Judas Maccabaeus, Jephthah, Saul, were fit heroes and heroines for his majestic score. Handel reaped great success from these performances, and his old age passed happily away, in spite of the affliction of blindness (never quite total), which came upon him gradually from about 1751.

On a totally different footing from all other oratorios stands *The Messiah*, first produced at Dublin in 1742 ; it is still beloved, as no other long composition has been, after the lapse of a hundred and

seventy years. Of itself it places its author upon heights which no other musician has ever reached, and it lures its hearers

o'er the dazzling line
Where mortal and immortal merge
And human dies divine.

It proves him to have been in the truest sense of the word a poet, and on the mightiest of themes, the drama of human redemption. It induced that eccentric genius, Samuel Butler, whose whole bias was against Christianity, to place Handel even above Shakespeare, and it may well induce all lovers of great poetry to rank him at least with Milton.

Disciples of Butler's school, such as Mr. Streatfield in his admirable study of Handel as a musician, lay too much stress upon the purely artistic side of *The Messiah*, and deny to some extent the religious inspiration which must have been its mainspring ; but Mr. Streatfield well points out that the libretto of the work was probably as much Handel's work as that of Jennens. Handel was in fact in this oratorio poet, artist, and seer, all in one. While he was writing the ' Hallelujah Chorus ' he thought, to use his own words, ' that he saw Heaven opened and the great God himself.'

And because he produced this supreme work, and a hundred other airs more beautiful and more appealing than any other musician ever wrote, Handel is treated by the most modern school of musicians almost as a criminal. A learned professor of the art (as practised in modern England) once said to the present writer, ' Handel's *Messiah* is like the Englishman's plum-pudding, equally heavy and equally unwholesome.' ' Handel sums up ', says Mr. Fuller-Maitland, in his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, ' the results of the musical tendencies of a hundred years, and carries them to a point beyond which they could not advance ; . . . he carried choral music to a point which it had never reached before, and which it has not exceeded since ' ; but ' unlike Bach or Haydn, he lacked the power by which an artist is compelled to proceed beyond his contemporaries and to

point the way to new methods which will preserve his art from stagnation. Every composer of the first rank has possessed this power. . . . Handel's influence on modern music is very slight : there is not a single development of modern musical form which can be traced back to him, and, for a time, the supremacy of his music served only to paralyse musical progress in this country.' Dr. Walker's conclusion is not very different from Mr. Fuller-Maitland's.

A layman may perhaps be excused for adducing the parallel of Raphael, who also 'summed up' a good deal that had gone to the making of him, and who was so great and so unapproachable that the art of his scholars withered and died in attempting to imitate his supreme excellence.

That 'not a single development of modern musical form' can be traced to Handel may possibly be more to the credit of the Master than to that of the moderns ; it is at least a pleasing reflection for all true lovers of Handel. One supposes, then, that what these people cannot forgive Handel is that he wrote majestic, beautiful, and simple music which laymen of imaginative minds can understand and admire, and that he wrote it in poetry as well as in notation.

Handel has also been reviled as a plagiarist ; he took much from other composers it is true, but what he took he transformed by his own immortal genius ; he repainted and illuminated it and fitted it into framework where it will live for ever in spite of his critics. From his own earlier work he borrowed in his later days quite as much as he took from every one else. Before the days of musical copyright every one did the same thing, and nobody was thought any the worse for it. When Handel's own work was stolen and performed (in garbled versions too) under his very nose, he laughed and set about giving a correct performance of that which others had spoiled. Palestrina, Bach, Haydn, Beethoven, Brahms, all borrowed material as 'texts for their own discourses', as Dr. Walker so happily expresses it. The real accusation that should be brought against Handel is that he wrote far too much, and often in far too great a hurry : he was careless of fame and greedy

for output: a great robust German soul, full of life and vigour, by no means always lit up by the fire from on high—but, when lit up, responding to the torch with such light as was never seen before or since. Little is known of his private life, but he was evidently a man of most happy disposition, without the nervous irritability common to men of his profession; it is said that, when he did lose his temper, he used strong expletives, and that he was famous for a gigantic appetite.

RICHARD BENTLEY

(1662–1742)

scholar, came of a well-to-do-family of yeomen in Yorkshire, and was educated at Wakefield Grammar School and St. John's, Cambridge, which he entered at the early age of fourteen. He was tutor to the son of Stillingfleet, the learned Dean of St. Paul's, in 1683–9, and accompanied his pupil to Oxford in the later year, being also made Chaplain to Stillingfleet when the latter got the Bishopric of Worcester. He became Boyle Lecturer in 1692, Prebendary of Worcester in the same year, King's Librarian and Fellow of the Royal Society in 1694, and Master of Trinity, Cambridge, in 1700. He married in 1701 the daughter of Sir John Bernard, and resided in Trinity, with occasional visits to London, where his librarianship gave him rooms in St. James's Palace, till his death in his eightieth year.

The standard life of Bentley in English is that by J. H. Monk (1830), but there is an admirable appreciation of him by the late Professor Jebb, than whom no one was more fitted, by scholarship and character, to understand his subject, in the 'English Men of Letters' Series, 1882. The Germans grasped the value of Bentley's learning earlier than his own compatriots, and by universal consent they have placed him in the very first rank of classical scholars. A few,



RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.

From the portrait after Sir James Thornhill in the National Portrait Gallery



JAMES THOMSON

From the portrait by William Aikman in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

but only a few, Englishmen of the eighteenth century really knew his greatness, and to this misunderstanding Bentley's somewhat autocratic temper and his habit of brushing away the pretensions of all 'would-be' scholars largely contributed. As a Johnian he was by no means popular with the greater Society of which he became Head. He ruled Trinity (no doubt very much for its own good) with a rod of iron, and several successive attempts were made by the Fellows to get the Visitor to expel him from the Mastership. But he was the intimate friend of the very best and ablest men of his time—of Newton, Locke, Wren, Evelyn, and in later years of Carteret; and at the age of twenty-eight proved, in his 'Letter to Mill' (an appendix to Dr. John Mill's edition of an obscure late-Greek chronicler) that he was already the first of European classical scholars. In his *Boyle Lectures* he began to apply the Newtonian system to the service of Theology. In his controversy with a later, and a fatuous, Boyle upon the *Letters of Phalaris* he pulverized this Boyle and Sir William Temple, and broke lances with Swift, whose *Battle of the Books* vainly tried to make fun of him.

It is as a textual critic that Bentley has the greatest claim to gratitude. To purify the classical texts by just and reasonable emendations, without departing too far from the tradition of the manuscripts, was his main object; and in this field his success was amazing. Not all of his conjectures have stood the test of time, but if we are now nearer than the seventeenth-century scholars were to the real mind and meaning of the ancient writers, we owe this approximation very largely to Richard Bentley. The discovery of the lost digamma in Homeric verse, the discovery that anapaestic poetry was written by the Greeks to 'run on' in its scansion from line to line, are due to him. He was equally great in Latin and in Greek, perhaps the last great scholar supreme in this double field; 'a pioneer', as Jebb says, 'over a wide region, rather than, like Porson, the perfect cultivator of a limited domain.' His *Fragments of Callimachus*, 1697, his *Emendations on Menander and Philemon*, 1710, his *Horace*, 1711, his *Terence*,

1726, his *Manilius*, 1739, are his best-known complete editions ; but it is his *Enlarged Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris* (1699) that shows most clearly the enormous range of his learning. He was also active on the textual criticism of the New Testament and of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which poem he published an edition in 1732. During his later years he gave much time and thought to Aristophanes, Lucretius, and Homer, and, apart from textual criticism, made shrewd guesses as to the original forms of the Homeric poems.

Bentley was, in spite of his somewhat arrogant disposition towards opponents, a man of great geniality and humour, very fond of children, and extremely happy in his domestic life.

JAMES THOMSON

(1700-1748)

poet, was the son of a minister on the Eastern Border, and was brought up at Southdean in Teviotdale. He went to the University of Edinburgh in his sixteenth year, intending to be a minister, but in 1725 sailed to London to try his fortunes in literature. He had already written much verse, and he soon found good friends and patrons among the Scots settled in London. He became tutor to two boys of Lord Binning, and in Binning's home at Barnet he produced the first draft of his *Winter*, which was to be the first of his famous *Seasons*. *Winter* was published in 1726, with immediate success ; it was dedicated to that fatuous person, the Speaker Compton, soon to be Lord Wilmington and for a few days the rival of Walpole. *Summer* was in 1728 dedicated to Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe ; *Spring*, in the same year, to Lady Hertford ; and *Autumn*, less finished and less polished, closed the first edition of *The Seasons* in 1730, with a dedication to Speaker Onslow. To the end of his life Thomson

altered, improved, and added to *The Seasons* ; and, after his death, his friend the first Lord Lyttelton hacked the text about in extraordinary fashion, being especially intent on removing all traces of Deism or pantheism ; it seems that Thomson was not orthodox enough to please Lyttelton. In the first edition of *The Seasons* were also verses to the memory of Sir Isaac Newton, and a poem called *Britannia*, which was to be the germ of Thomson's one memorable song 'Rule, Britannia' ; this first appeared in its present form in a Clieveden Masque written when the poet was a favourite of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Thomson also wrote tragedies ; *Sophonisba*, 1730 ; *Agamemnon*, 1738 ; *Edward and Eleanore* (prohibited under the new censorship Act), 1739 ; *Tancred and Sigismunda*, 1745 ; *Coriolanus*, which appeared posthumously, 1749 ; and a tedious poem to *Liberty*, 1735-6. But the best and best-known work of his later years was *The Castle of Indolence*, which appeared in the year of his death 1748.

Besides Lord Binning, the poet found an influential patron in the Chancellor, Lord Talbot of Hensol, with whose son he travelled as a tutor to France ; he then saw Voltaire, whom he had already met in England. On his return he received the 'Secretaryship of the Briefs in the Court of Chancery', a sinecure whose very name would perhaps have been now unknown, but for the fact that Thomson held it for two years. At the end of that time, what he called an 'idle inquiry into the fees of the offices of the Courts of Justice', cut the salary of his post down from three to one hundred pounds ; and Hardwicke, when he succeeded Talbot as Chancellor, did not renew the place to Thomson. But Thomson's poems sold well, and he was able to pass his last twelve years in a small country house near Richmond, with plenty of books, wine, and strong ale, the effects of which he exorcised by long walks to London and short walks to see his friend Pope (who had a generous and real appreciation for him) at Twickenham. Another patron was Forbes of Culloden, the Lord President of the Scottish Court of Session ; and soon Sir George (afterwards Lord) Lyttelton introduced him to the Prince of Wales,

who gave him a small pension, afterwards withdrawn. When Lyttelton became in 1744 the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer then on record, he made Thomson Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, and kept a warm friendship with him till the poet's death. Under such influences it is not wonderful if this unprejudiced Scotsman became the poet of the anti-Walpoleans; Walpole did not read the poets, but, if he had read Thomson's *Agamemnon*, he would surely have had a smile to spare when he found himself in the rôle of Aegisthus.

Thomson was a genial, friendly, absent-minded, and rather indolent person, with a real, if not wholly new, enthusiasm for the works of Nature. Some people think that he and he alone forms the true link between Milton and the Romantics; some will even call him the first of the Romantics. By his own generation there is no doubt that he was hailed as a very great poet; to have pleased Pope, and to have overcome the anti-Scottish and orthodox prejudices of Johnson, was very much. To have written really majestic blank verse, in the full age of the heroic couplet, was more. Thomson was a master of word painting, and it cannot be denied that Cowper, Gray, and Tennyson were consciously or unconsciously indebted to him. On the Continent also his influence was great. But a recent critic, Mr. G. C. Macaulay, well points out that the true Romantics read their own emotions into Nature and viewed Nature through the light of those emotions; whereas Thomson merely described the phenomena of Nature in fine language; and even the highest skill in mere description of Nature does not warrant a seat among the Romantics for James Thomson.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

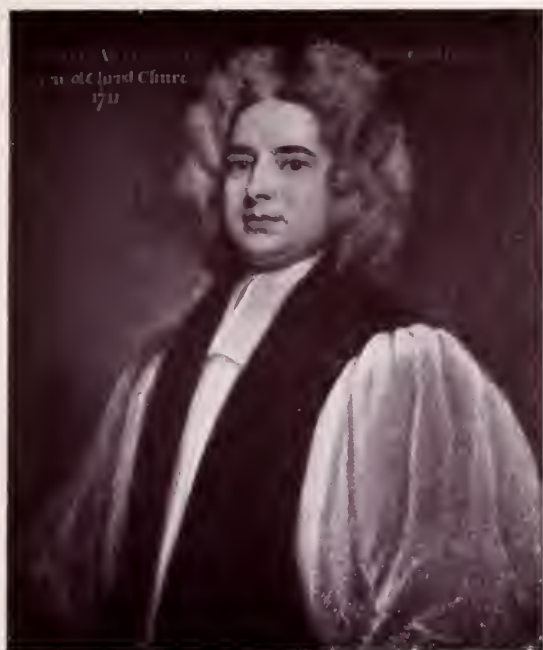
(1662-1732)

was the son of a Buckinghamshire clergyman, was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and in 1686 began to make a name as a champion of the Church of England against the Romanizing intentions of James II and his minions at Oxford. Atterbury was an acute controversialist, and, though he was taken in by the *Epistles of Phalaris*, a very fair scholar. He took orders in 1687, and his preferment was rapid. He was a 'Queen Mary's man' at the Revolution, and after her death, though he retained the royal chaplaincy she had given him, he attached himself more to the Princess Anne than to the Court. He was an energetic champion of the independence of Convocation, and entered into a sharp controversy with the Whig latitudinarians on the subject; Canon Overton, the fairest historian of the Church of that day, considers that Atterbury got the best of it. Anne gave him the Deanery of Carlisle in 1704, and he became preacher at the Rolls in 1709. In 1710 he was the main supporter of Sacheverell, and is said to have composed the speech of defence which, says Burnet, Sacheverell read 'with much bold heat'. In 1711 he became Dean of Christ Church, and, two years later, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester. In the scheme of Bolingbroke for a Jacobite Ministry at the end of Anne's reign, Atterbury was to have had the Privy Seal. But these were vain dreams, and the Bishop was obliged to take the oaths to King George, who snubbed him severely at the Coronation. This more than anything else helped to drive him into the Jacobite camp.

'Atterbury's Plot' of 1722 led to his imprisonment in the Tower and to his trial before the House of Lords. He was deprived of his

bishopric and banished for ever from the realm in 1723. The London clergy showed their sympathy for him and their hostility to the Government by praying for him during his imprisonment ; but it is a clear proof of the decline of the ecclesiastical spirit in England that the cause of the Church, which had upset King James in 1687-8, and wrecked Godolphin's Ministry in 1710, failed to shake King George in 1723. That Atterbury was guilty, if it were guilt to scheme for the restoration of the legitimate sovereign, there can be little doubt. That he was never in the least inclined towards Rome is equally certain ; he had tried hard to convert his friend Pope to Protestantism, and he had been the intimate friend of Swift and Arbuthnot, as well as of the Whig Addison and of that very stout Protestant Trelawny, Bishop of Exeter. In exile he became for a time the principal agent at Paris for the exiled King James, but his own broken health and the intrigues of less honest Jacobites drove him from this post in 1728. It must also be admitted that he was both a fretful and a somewhat rash counsellor. It is quite probable that he was giving advice to James as early as 1715, and that he had encouraged the dismissal of Bolingbroke. Whether or not Mar, who in 1722 was in the pay of the Hanoverian Government, betrayed Atterbury intentionally is doubtful ; but it was an intercepted letter of Mar's that led to his arrest, and it was certainly in consequence of Atterbury's representations in 1724 that James at last came to realize that Mar was a traitor.

After his death the English Ministry allowed his body to be brought back to England and interred in the Abbey, but they broke open his coffin in order to search for documents which might compromise their opponents.



FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D., BISHOP OF
ROCHESTER

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller at
Christ Church, Oxford



JOSEPH BUTLER, BISHOP OF DURHAM

From the portrait at Magdalen College, Oxford.
Painter unknown



BENJAMIN HOADLY, D.D., BISHOP OF
WINCHESTER

From the portrait by William Hogarth in the
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D., BISHOP OF
GLOUCESTER

From the portrait by Charles Philips in the
National Portrait Gallery

JOSEPH BUTLER

BISHOP OF DURHAM

(1692–1752)

was the son of a retired Presbyterian mercer at Wantage, and was educated at Dissenting schools at Gloucester and Tewkesbury. He was designed for the Presbyterian ministry, but before leaving school, or immediately afterwards, he determined on conformity to the Church of England, went to Oriel College, and took his degree in 1718. The school at Tewkesbury was one of great merit, and Butler began, while there, to correspond on matters of religious philosophy with the famous theologian, Dr. Clarke; he also formed, at the same school, a life-long friendship with another Dissenter, Secker, who afterwards conformed and became the good Archbishop of Canterbury. At Oriel Butler was intimate with Edward Talbot, son of a Bishop of Salisbury soon to be translated to Durham; he was ordained at Salisbury in 1718, and became preacher at the Rolls Chapel in the same year. This was wonderful preferment for a man of twenty-six, and Butler held it for eight years. The Bangorian controversy was at its height at the time of his induction; the forces of Deism, of the Toland and Tindal school, were, however, on the ebb, and it would be a mistake to represent Butler's works as having turned the tide against them. It was Butler who now persuaded Secker to conform to the Church. In 1724 he added to his preferments a poor, and in 1727 a rich, living in the diocese of Durham. He then resigned the Rolls, and at his new living, Stanhope-in-Weardale, one of the loveliest spots in the north of England, the *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, a work which has ever since held its place in the forefront of Christian Apologetics, was written; it was published in 1736. As Mark Pattison says of

it, ' it is a *résumé* of the discussions of more than one generation ; its admirable arrangement only is all its own ; its closely-packed and carefully-fixed order speaks of many years' contrivance.' Its great merits are the vindication of the authority of the inner light or conscience of man, the insistence on the revelation of God to man through this light, and the skill with which the main argument is presented in order to the logical refutation of Deism : ' You admit difficulties in the Laws of Nature, yet you believe that God created the Natural World ; why then do you allow similar difficulties in the history of revealed religion to keep you from accepting it reverently ? All evidence is imperfect, everything is extremely imperfect in this world.' Butler is careful not to overstate his case, he even appears to understate it ; and this temporizing quality, ascribable perhaps to his rather despondent and self-distrustful nature, has been held by some to be a sign that he felt his own position to be a weak one. The book, where it was criticized at all, was criticized mainly for lack of vigour ; it was never refuted, and gave rise to no controversy ; for it was held to be a complete and triumphant vindication of sober Christianity and of the Divine Revelation.

Queen Caroline was delighted with it, and, after her death, the author was given the very poor bishopric of Bristol, 1738. He looked for better preferment, and soon added to it the rich Deanery of St. Paul's. The Archbishopric was offered to him, or he was at least sounded on the subject of accepting it, but he felt himself unequal to such a strain, and had little interest in ecclesiastical politics. He was delighted when in 1750 he was translated to Durham, and writes enthusiastically of the beautiful domain of Auckland, which, however, he intends to improve. He had a passion for building and planting, and had spent much money on the palace at Bristol. While he held his first see he came sharply in conflict with Wesley and Whitefield, and discouraged their ' enthusiasm ', their claim to special gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the hysterical antics of their converts. It is characteristic of our own day that it should be thought necessary to explain

away and apologize for this action of a good eighteenth-century bishop; his unquestioned pluralities and his zeal for his own preferment need more apology. But he was in advance of his age on some points; he was exceedingly keen on missionary enterprise, and strove in vain to get bishops ordained for the American colonies—can any influence of Berkeley be traced here? Again, Butler was outspoken in his sermons on the duties of the rich to the poor; first, on the duty of a good example of life; secondly, on the duty of provision for the sick and needy; thirdly, on the necessity of education for poor children. He had a special interest in hospitals, and loved to point out what a large proportion of Christ's time on earth was given to visiting and relieving the sick. Finally, he was somewhat of a ceremonialist, and this has endeared him to some modern High Churchmen, who forget his complete lack of their doctrinal views on Sacramental Grace or Sacerdotalism; he saw how much good could be effected by regular church-going and the decent and reverent maintenance of Divine Service. So much did he insist upon outward observances that his friend Secker had to defend him after his death from the charge of having been a concealed Papist. His own private life, if melancholy and shadowed by ill health, was saintly and devout.

BENJAMIN HOADLY BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

(1676-1761)

was the son of a clergyman and schoolmaster of some notoriety, and was the brother of an Archbishop of Armagh. He was Fellow of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, was ordained in 1701, and held a living in London. Lecky calls him 'a very able man who possessed all the moral and intellectual qualities of a consummate controversialist', and compares the position which he held towards the end of Anne's reign, as leader of the Low Church party, to that of Burnet. He was early in controversy both with the leading Nonconformists and with the High Churchmen, and preached vigorously against the divine right of kings, at the date of the Sacheverell riots. After the death of Anne he wrote no more against Nonconformists, and showed himself an obsequious courtier of George I, who rewarded him with three successive bishoprics (Bangor, Hereford, and Salisbury), and of George II, whose Queen Caroline gave him Winchester in 1734. He never visited Bangor, and there is no evidence that he ever visited Hereford! The celebrated 'Bangorian Controversy' began in 1716, when Hoadly held the first-named of these sees; it was called forth by his vigorous attack upon the non-jurors. The Lower House of Convocation, which was strongly High Church, arraigned the Bishop's writings and sermons so fiercely that it was prorogued in 1717, very probably at Hoadly's own advice, and was not unmuzzled again until the middle of the nineteenth century. Able as Hoadly was, he received some very awkward thrusts from the great non-juror William Law; the fact is that his latitudinarianism, which denied the existence of any visible Church, implied also a denial of the Royal Supremacy; and Caroline was not far wrong when she said there was only one objection to making this staunch Whig an Archbishop of Canterbury, namely, that he 'was not a Christian'. One fancies that, with her masculine intellect and contempt of flattery, she must also have thought him something of a mean hound.

WILLIAM WARBURTON

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER

(1698-1779)

was the son of George Warburton of Newark and Elizabeth Holman. He was educated at the Grammar Schools of Oakham and perhaps of Newark, articled to an attorney, from whom he may have derived his passion for small points in verbal controversy, took orders (with a direct view to preferment) in 1723, received the gift of a degree from Cambridge owing to the personal influence of a patron, held several successive livings and prebends, wrote a great many books, and entered in a pugnacious fashion upon a great many controversies. The works, upon which he believed his own fame to rest, were *The Alliance between Church and State*, 1736 ; *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated* (first part 1737 ; the book went through several editions, but was never completed) ; an extraordinarily bad edition of *Shakespeare*, 1747 ; a *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*, 1754-5 ; and *Remarks upon Hume's Natural History of Religion*, 1757. For none of these works did the author possess the necessary qualifications of learning or scholarship ; he had, however, much miscellaneous reading and the audacity and cunning of a pachyderm. He blundered in 1740 into a friendship with Pope, whom he had previously attacked, and had the good fortune to retain this for the four remaining years of the irritable poet's life ; Pope left him, with restrictions, as his literary executor ; Warburton forthwith entered upon one of his most famous quarrels, that with Bolingbroke. To this quarrel, to the Bishop's vigorous onslaught on Hume, and perhaps to the fact that they only met once, Warburton owed the express approbation of Johnson. Far too hastily the Doctor took him at his own valuation ; we can only say that he had probably never examined Warburton's

writings critically, and therefore allowed the causes pleaded to outweigh the character of the pleader. Warburton did not receive his bishopric till 1759; he had been angling for it since his introduction to Queen Caroline in the last year of her life. He was no more exemplary as a bishop than he had been as a scholar or a controversialist. He had married in 1745 the rich and lively, perhaps too lively, Miss Tucker, niece of Ralph Allen of Bath.

GEORGE II

(1683-1760)

only son of George I, and Sophia Dorothea of Zell, desired to be considered the greatest possible contrast to his father, yet resembled him in many ways. He had not the solidity nor the stolidity of George I, and none of his contempt for display, for he was a vain, strutting, 'dapper' Prince and King; he had less courage, except that of the battlefield, for George I had both physical and moral (one might almost say immoral) courage and indifference to public opinion, whereas George II was essentially timid in any crisis other than a physical one. George I knew his own mind and got his own way—he 'stood on himself', to use Machiavelli's expression; George II was always governed by some one, wife, mistress, or Minister, though his good and clever Queen made him believe that the will and the ideas she dictated to him were his own; and his understanding was on the whole narrower than his father's, though his education had been somewhat better. In avarice he even exceeded his father; but it was a passion common to both. This passion led George II into one very disgraceful act; he destroyed his father's will and refused to pay the legacies it was known to contain. There is a story that his father had also destroyed two wills (perhaps the Electress Sophia's and the Duke of Zell's) for

a similar reason, but it rests upon doubtful authority. In contempt for literature, and for all arts but Music, the two Georges were alike. In truthfulness, then as always a rare virtue, they were alike ; each was a real believer in fidelity to sworn treaty obligations. But George I could keep secrets and his son could not, and it is quite possible that George II's veracity sprang from his inability to restrain himself from blurting out whatever was in his mind ; he was much the simpler character of the two. Each was almost equally vulgar and unkingly, but George I's was a silent vulgarity, contemptuous of the *convenances* ; George II's was aggressive and blustering. George I was too sluggish to lose his temper ; George II would often get into honest and most ridiculous rages, in which he kicked his wig about, swore at people, and cuffed his servants. In foreign politics the son inherited the traditions and opinions of his father, loyalty to the idea of the Empire, complete indifference to English interests, real devotion to, and love for, his native Hanover. In English politics the son tried far more to ' be a King ' than the father ; he could always be beaten, if his Ministers were firm with him, but he always tried not to be beaten ; for one department of State he did display a continuous and rather intelligent interest, the Army. Hence, in a ballad of the time, he is supposed to say to Carteret :

my dear Lord, you may do
Whatever you like ; give me troops to review.

True, the Army after his own heart was one stifled with the pedantries of dress, buttons, lace, and gaiters ; but he led it at Dettingen with conspicuous bravery, and became for a time a popular hero in consequence. The conclusion of the comparison is that, though George II was a lesser man than his father, he was also a good deal more human ; there were traits in him which made him at times almost likeable.

As the English succession-question began to flutter the Hanoverian Court, the Prince, perhaps only to spite his father, became enthusiastically English, and was delighted to receive from Queen Anne a long string of English titles including that of ' Duke of Cambridge '. This was

in the year of his marriage (1705) with Caroline of Anspach. In 1708 he fought with great gallantry at Oudenarde. Three years later it was thought desirable that he should take his seat in the House of Lords, and a writ was applied for, but Queen Anne sent with the writ such letters as raised the hair on the head of the aged Electress, and the proposal was dropped. When his father became king, George accompanied him to England, was created Prince of Wales, and had the usual social honours and empty offices given to him. He enjoyed his new position greatly, and set up a Court of his own, disgusting English maids-of-honour by his frequent immoral advances to them. It is then that Mary Wortley Montagu gives her famous character of him, as a pendant to her character of his father : ' He was naturally sincere, and his pride told him that he was above restraint ; . . . he looked on all the men and women he saw as creatures he might kick or kiss for his diversion ; and whenever he met with any opposition in those designs, he thought his opposers impudent rebels to the will of God ', and so on. He had a succession of mistresses, the best known being the Countess of Suffolk (Mrs. Howard) and the Countess of Yarmouth (Madame de Walmoden). But he loved his wife also, and, with a horrible frankness, expected her to love and cherish his mistresses, which, in order to keep her power over him, the amazing woman pretended to do. He was actually vain of his successes in love, and used to write long sentimental letters to the mistress or the wife from whom he happened to be absent. His son Frederick, afterwards Prince of Wales, was born in 1717, and after being merely a fresh cause of discord between Prince George and the King, became in time an object of bitter hatred to his own father and mother ; yet Frederick was a creature so feeble and foolish as to be hardly worth hating. There had long been a proposal on foot to marry this Prince to a daughter of the King of Prussia, but the family quarrels eventually spoiled the plan, and left on George II's mind an enduring hatred of his cousins at Berlin ; and in 1736 the King chose for his son's bride the strong-minded Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. Only once did



GEORGE II

From the portrait by Thomas Hudson in the National Portrait Gallery

George I leave Prince George Regent, on his first visit to Hanover ; on the other successive occasions of such visits the Prince was passed over. In the old King's drawer there was found, after his death, a written project to have his son kidnapped and carried to America, where he might 'disappear'. Verily these were strange creatures to sit in the seat which had once been Elizabeth's and was one day to be Victoria's.

The thirty-three years of George II's reign were nevertheless a striking period of growth in the history of Great Britain. They began with the long Walpolean peace which made her rich to overflowing ; they ended with the Seven Years' War, which, as Burke said, 'carried her glory, her power, her commerce to an height unknown even to this renowned nation in the times of its greatest prosperity.' And between these epochs had come the rather purposeless and drawn game of the War of the Austrian Succession, with its Dettingen balanced by its Fontenoy, its foreshadow of an Indian and a Canadian dominion ; had come also the extinction at Culloden of the last hopes of the legitimate dynasty of kings, the pacification, by means not pleasing to dwell upon, of the Highlands, and the enrolment of their splendid material into the best regiments of the British Army ; had come and had gone the enmity between England and Prussia ; had passed away for ever all danger of the subordination of English to Hanoverian interests. It was another England and another Britain on which King George's eyes closed in his seventy-seventh year from that on which they had looked when he landed at Greenwich in 1714. In all these changes King George had little share. His daily round, either on his innumerable visits to Hanover, or at Kensington or St. James, was exactly the same ; so many hours sleep, so many hours cards, the same regular meals, the same grotesque mockery of sport which he dignified by the name of 'hunting in Richmond Park', the same walking exercise, the same perfunctory attendance at Chapel or reception of Ministers on business ; the yearly birthday, with its new clothes (in which he delighted), was almost the only variation. Except to Hanover and to the war in

1743, he never travelled ; of England he knew nothing ; of other placès, things, and people he learned nothing. True, like the Bourbons, of the little he had learned he forgot nothing, for he had an excellent memory, and was quite an expert in German genealogies.

QUEEN CAROLINE

(1683-1737)

was the daughter of a Margrave of Anspach, of one of the younger lines of the Hohenzollern house. She was left an orphan in her fourteenth year, and passed much of her time at the Court of Berlin, where the Elector, soon to be first ' King of Prussia ', was her guardian. She was a very pretty girl, and of an intelligence and education quite beyond the ordinary standard of German princely houses ; a favourite both of the old Electress Sophia of Hanover and of the charming Electress-Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte ; and, through them, the pupil and friend of the philosopher Leibniz. The scheme to marry her to the Catholic Archduke Charles of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles VI, and her subsequent marriage (1705) to the Protestant Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II of Great Britain, may have led to the vulgar story (told of other German Princesses also) that she was brought up without any religion so that she might be eligible for marriage to a Prince of either Confession. It is true that while the former *parti* was under discussion, Caroline ' submitted to be instructed ' in Catholicism by a Jesuit, but she evidently stood up to him with some skill. Her nine years as Electoral Princess in Hanover appear to have been happy, although it is difficult to believe that her keen intellect can have found much pleasure in the conversation of ' dapper George '. It is probable that, during this time of waiting, her mind was hardening itself for the object of her ambition, namely, to become one day a great Queen.



WILHELMINA CAROLINE OF BRANDENBURG-ANSBACH,
QUEEN CONSORT OF GEORGE II

From the portrait by Enoch Seeman (?) in the National Portrait Gallery

As Princess of Wales, 1714-27, she certainly exercised the greatest influence over her husband, and even aggravated, it is difficult to see why, his quarrel with his father, instead of pacifying it ; and she also exercised a very considerable influence upon English society. Kensington Palace, Leicester House, and her villa at Richmond became the centres of the political 'opposition' to St. James's Palace, and the brilliant society of wits that gathered in these places has been portrayed for us in Lord Hervey's *Memoirs of the Court of George II.* The Princess had early learned to accommodate herself to her husband's infidelity, to tolerate and even be friendly with his official mistress, and thereby to retain not only his respect but such real love as it was in him to give. Although her conversation was coarse and she delighted in scurrilous jests, her own morals were quite pure, but she was cynically indifferent to those of her courtiers, which were not pure. By her indifference to such matters she attained to some degree her object, real power when her husband became King. Before that event happened she had marked Walpole as the one Minister whom it would be necessary to keep ; she had been in private communication with him, and no doubt her influence was paramount in inducing George II to disappoint those who had been looking forward to Walpole's fall. Not a measure of that Minister's, during the remaining ten years of Caroline's life, failed from any want of her support. When the King went on his numerous excursions to Hanover she was left to act as Regent in Britain ; and she then at least enjoyed a rest from the intolerable boredom which his habits and conversation must often have caused her. She 'had an ill which nobody knew of', as she told her daughter in her last days ; it was an internal complaint (a rupture) which caused her the greatest agony, in spite of which she constantly walked for hours with the fussy King in the garden, in order to maintain her hold over him to the last. In truth they were a strange pair ; even on her deathbed George treated her with a 'mixture of brutality and passionate tenderness'. Of the amazing conversation between them at that parting hour, which has been so often quoted, Lord Hervey, who records it,

dryly remarks, ' I know this episode will hardly be credited, but it is literally true.' Twenty-three years afterwards George's last wish was that his coffin might be placed next to Caroline's in the grave.

The Queen, then, is not wholly the gracious figure of the garden scene in *The Heart of Midlothian*. She hated her eldest son with a quite unwomanly, not to say unnatural, passion, and refused to allow him to come near her at the end. Her influence on the moral tone of Court and Society must have been more for evil than for good. She tolerated the abominable backbiter Hoadly, and gave him bishoprics. Yet in other instances she was an excellent dispenser of Church patronage ; Butler, Berkeley, and Sherlock received every possible encouragement from her. Nor was it only in Whig circles that she could discern merit ; she did much to soften the hard lot of the nonjurors, of the Catholics, and even of the Scottish Episcopalian remnant. She had real interest in literature, and was a most intelligent patroness of men of letters. It must have been a great drawback to a woman of her taste for conversation that she was such an exceedingly bad linguist ; English she never really mastered at all, and French she spoke and wrote ' after the schole of Herrenhausen-atte-Hannover ', and ' even more so '.

JOHN CARTERET

EARL GRANVILLE

(1690-1763)

was the eldest son of the first Lord Carteret and of Grace Granville, daughter of Sir John Granville, Earl of Bath. This lady was in 1715 created Countess of Granville in her own right, and on her death in 1744 her son inherited the Earldom. Both his father's and his mother's families were of Norman origin, and the home of the Carterets was in Jersey, where John's great-grandfather, Sir George, had entertained Charles II in his exile on two separate occasions ; while the Granvilles were descended from Sir Richard of the *Revenge* and Sir Bevil who fell at Lansdown. It is somewhat strange that a man of such descent should from his first entry into public life have been the stoutest of Whigs, and perhaps this may be accounted for by the contempt that a man of Carteret's intellectual power must have felt for the Tory Ministers who held office, when in 1711 he first took his seat in the House of Lords.

Carteret succeeded to his father's peerage in his sixth year, and was educated at Westminster and Christ Church ; it was the *Heldenzeit* of that great school ; Prior, Hervey, Pulteney, Newcastle, Atterbury, Murray, were all ' Westminsters '. Carteret himself was the friend of the great scholar Bentley and not far behind Bentley in Greek and Latin scholarship ; this enabled him afterwards to master with ease the chief modern European languages. Though a strong Whig, Carteret was never a rancorous one, and to the end of his life he retained many friends among the ' suffering remnant ' of the Tories ; nor was he ever rancorous to his political opponents, of whom there were many, in his own party. From the first he distinguished himself by his very wide outlook upon European politics, and was thereby led to

despise, too much for his own success, the shifting game of parliamentary parties at home. Herein he was no doubt the forerunner of the elder Pitt, but of Pitt only in his Seven Years' War period, not of Pitt the schemer seeking for office in the 'forties. Pitt, luckily for himself, when his great opportunity came, found in Newcastle a colleague only too anxious to do the jobbery and bribery in the House of Commons; Carteret, less fortunate, could employ no such colleague, and would not stoop to soil his own hands with the work. Yet it is fairly clear that from Carteret many of Pitt's great ideas were derived; the *delenda est* attitude toward the House of Bourbon, the expansion of England over seas. Moreover, Carteret had, as Pitt never had, a distinct fore-view of a united Germany, pledged to win back from France her acquisitions Rhinewards during the two preceding centuries.

Views such as these naturally made the young Carteret attach himself rather to Stanhope and to Sunderland than to Walpole and Townshend in the reign of George I; and he rendered an excellent account of his mission when he went, in 1719, as Ambassador to Sweden, where he not only obtained freedom of the navigation of the Baltic for British vessels, but mediated the peace of 1720 between the Northern Powers. He became Secretary of State in 1721, and, after the disappearance of Sunderland and Stanhope, found himself face to face with Walpole and almost alone. Against his rival's parliamentary influence no one at that time could stand, and, in 1724, Carteret was sent to Ireland—then almost equivalent to transportation to a penal settlement—as Lord Lieutenant. He went well supplied with Greek books and burgundy (of which he was reputed to be too fond), and quelled with great tact the agitation produced by *Drapier's Letters* without forfeiting the friendship of Swift, whom he must have known to be their author. He held this 'office of exile' till 1730, and reappeared to be the leader in the House of Lords of the opposition to Walpole. It is easy, for those who see in Walpole only the truly great Minister who kept England out of one big war and was almost the father of her financial system, to class Carteret with Pulteney and the other factious



JOHN CARTERET, EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

From the painting by Thomas Hudson belonging to the Earl Spencer, K.G.

yelpers who merely wanted Walpole's place ; but there is also another aspect of his opposition. Carteret was undoubtedly ambitious ; he wished to govern Great Britain, and felt himself able to do so, and he considered that Walpole was shamefully neglecting the defences of the island, and was letting her take far too low a rank among the Great Powers of Europe.

When, therefore, the peace Minister fell, early in 1742, Carteret took the Secretaryship of State, which gave him the Foreign Office in Lord Wilmington's divided Ministry, and at once attempted to put in force his ideas for a union of Germany to resist the dangerous encroachments of France. Such spirited policy, though well to the taste of George II, with whom Carteret was present (as a spectator) at the battle of Dettingen, was far less to the taste of his colleagues, Newcastle and Pelham ; while Pitt, in the bad period of his career, thinking only of forcing himself into place, joined with the loudest of the throng in decrying the man whom in after-life he was to acknowledge to have been his master in British policy. The result was that Carteret, now by his mother's death Earl Granville, was driven from office, and his policy was reversed. Once more in 1746, when, in the crisis of the Jacobite rising, the Pelhams threw up their offices in order to force Pitt upon the King, Granville came to George's assistance and tried to form a ministry, but the cowardice of his colleague Pulteney made success impossible. Most placable of mankind, Granville finally agreed in 1751 to join those who had treated him so shamefully, as President of the Council, and held the post till his death ; but he could hardly help rejoicing when Newcastle, tottering to his first fall in 1756, implored his assistance. Granville refused, and pointed out to the Duke that he was only getting his deserts ; ' you are now being served as you and your brother served me.' He administered a stern rebuke to Pitt, at the end of his own career in 1761, when Pitt spoke in the Council of being ' responsible to the people ' ; at that board, he said, Ministers were responsible only to the King. He thought, in that crisis, that the acts of hostility, which Pitt proposed against Spain before a declaration

of war, were a mistake ; and his firmness, whether right or wrong, led to Pitt's resignation. His last declaration was that the Peace of Paris was ' the most honourable peace, closing the most glorious war, that the nation had ever seen '.

In society Granville was the most charming of companions, and his (second) marriage, in his fifty-fourth year, with the beautiful Sophia Fermor, who was thirty years his junior, was one of the romances of the period ; she died in the next year. Granville was reputed a hard drinker, and it may possibly have been no calumny ; if it was true, the clearness of his intellect was never dimmed by his habit, and he had at least the good taste to prefer French wine to port.

GEORGE GRENVILLE

(1712-1770)

politician, son of Richard Grenville and Hester Temple, and brother-in-law of Chatham, was at Eton and Christ Church, was called to the Bar in 1735, and sat for the borough of Buckingham from 1741 until his death. In spite of a famous panegyric on him by Burke, and in spite of his undoubted industry, we may safely brand him as a failure. His wooden-headed arrogance and priggishness he shared with his family, his narrow selfishness and lack of imagination with his party ; but he had more than his fair share of Grenville-Temple want of tact, and of their power of irritating both their contemporaries and posterity ; and he had very little of their (usually undeserved) good luck. He was *par excellence* the ' member for Boreham '.

From his *début*, when, in common with Pitt, he badgered the falling Walpole, to his tenure of the First Lordship of the Treasury and Chancellorship of the Exchequer (1763-5), when his Stamp Act led to the rebellion of our North American Colonies, he was the same dull, laborious, and arrogant pedant. But in 1761 hoped to use him as



GEORGE GRENVILLE

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to Lord Leconfield at Petworth



FREDERICK NORTH, SECOND EARL OF GUILFORD, K.G.
From a drawing by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

a tool, and one can almost feel some sympathy for Grenville for refusing to be so used, and for showing Bute to the door instead. His Regency Bill of 1765 was a blunder only less than his Stamp Act or his proceedings in the Wilkes case. In short he had a genius for doing things, which in themselves might be right, in the wrong way, for combining the maximum of irritation with the minimum of advantage. The King disliked him quite as much as the nation or the American colonists disliked him.

One good Act is, however, to be put to his credit, that for regulating contested elections (still known as 'Grenville's Act'), 1770. He was the father of the far abler and gentler, but still somewhat intractable Foreign Minister of Pitt, William, Lord Grenville, and of that Earl Temple who became Marquis of Buckingham and prohibited his brother William from joining Pitt's Ministry in 1804.

FREDERICK NORTH

SECOND EARL OF GUILFORD

(1732-1792)

commonly called Lord North, was the only son of the first Earl and of Lady Lucy Montagu. The father, who was descended from the famous Chancellor of Charles II's last years, had been a personal friend of George III. North was, both at Eton and Trinity College Oxford, a most excellent Latin scholar, and entered the House of Commons in 1754; he held a junior lordship of the Treasury from 1759 to 1765, was at first Paymaster, and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Chatham's Government of 1766-7, and showed his colours as a steady supporter of the measures both against Wilkes and against the revolting colonists. He succeeded Grafton as First Lord of the Treasury early in 1770, and held office for twelve years. Walpole himself never had to face a more

virulent or more continuous opposition than that which gathered strength from year to year against North's Government, that Government being regarded in fact as the personal government of the King. To this parliamentary opposition of the Whigs within were added outside the walls the invectives of 'Junius', Francis, and other pamphleteers, the hostility of the City, the yelping of the agitators on the Wilkes question, and the nascent radicalism which was the result of that agitation. Worst of all was the revolt of America, fanned, it is only too evident, by the splendours of Chatham's eloquence in the Lords, and after 1774 by the brilliant debating powers of young Charles Fox in the Commons. Against all this North fought till the latest hour with perfect good humour and unfailing tact. He had the happy gift of sleeping serenely during the long dull speeches of his opponents, and of waking up at their perorations to answer them from notes made by his secretary. Fox considered him 'the most accomplished speaker that ever sat in Parliament'. But he was badly served in his Cabinet by such men as Sandwich and Lord George Germaine. He had no talent for choosing his subordinates, or for imposing his will upon them when chosen. He had no real grasp of foreign politics, and turned a blind eye first to the coming danger from France, then to that from Spain, and never understood at all the principles which should have governed British strategy in America. It is even quite a tenable view that he gave up the struggle with America just at the wrong time; for the military resources of the colonists were in 1782 far more exhausted than our own, and another campaign might have brought them to their knees. The Irish question, enough of itself to upset any ordinary Government, became acute in 1778; while Burke and Francis never allowed the East Indian question to sleep. Yet to North's credit must be placed the first steps taken in the direction of mitigating the harshness of the laws against the Catholics (for which the mob of London rewarded him with the Gordon riots, 1780), and also the Dissenting Ministers' Relief Act of 1779. He was also the first person to apply to taxation some of the lessons he had drawn from

Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, and the first to take definite steps towards free trade with Ireland. From the year of the Saratoga disaster, 1777, it is clear that he was anxious to resign; he did in fact repeatedly ask the King's permission to do so. George III, however, had got, as he thought, a 'Minister to his mind', and refused to accept North's offer; and the First Lord (he always refused to allow the name of 'Prime Minister' to be applied to himself, or to any one) held the old loyal view that the King's Government must be carried on and the King's wishes obeyed. After Yorktown, however, North insisted on retiring, and the King rudely spoke of his insistence as 'a desertion'. His friends, who had also been the 'King's friends', did not desert him; within the House of Commons at least he had a loyal and large following. These men, to the horror of all serious-minded politicians, he suddenly carried over in February 1783, eleven months after his own fall, to a coalition with Fox's Whigs, effecting thereby the defeat of Lord Shelburne's Ministry. It was certainly an amazing *volte-face*, and the attempt to palliate it, by representing both the parties to it as mere 'good fellows' who had no personal enmity for each other, is bound to fail. Fox and North took the two Secretaryships of State, with Portland as First Lord over them; in reality it was Fox's Whig Ministry, and North's group of friends had few places and no influence in it. The famous East India Bill which it produced was of Whig parentage, and met its fate in the Lords in December, 1783, pulling down the Coalition in its fall. North took little subsequent part in politics, and became totally blind before his father's death, which happened in 1790, only two years before his own. But even in blindness his charming temper never failed, and he enjoyed great domestic happiness all his life.

JOHN RUSSELL

FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD

(1710-1771)

son of the second Duke, was the head of a group of noisy and greedy Whig politicians, who took their name from his title. For himself he was an honourable man, and had the courage to stand up to Pitt in the Seven Years' War Cabinet ; but he was not clever, and was used and governed by his Duchess, by his very objectionable secretary, Rigby, and by a series of place-hunters of the Rigby type. He graduated in politics as an opponent of Walpole, and, after Walpole's fall, of Carteret ; he was, in Pelham's Government, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1744-8, and allowed Anson to manage his department for him ; then Secretary of State, 1748-51, quarrelling in the last of these years with Newcastle ; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (where his magnificence made him for a time almost popular, but where his viceroyalty ended in riots), 1756-61 ; Lord Privy Seal, as a follower of Bute after the fall of Pitt, 1761 ; negotiator, as Ambassador, of the Peace of Paris, 1763 ; he quarrelled with Bute, and to some extent supported Grenville, 1763-5, and became President of the Council, in which office he incurred the great dislike of King George III. He was often very rude to the King, and is believed to have accused him to his face of breaking his word ; if there was a ' Whig Oligarchy ' and an Oligarch, from whom George was justified in wishing to free himself, it was this proud Duke with his ' Bedfordites '. Chatham would have liked to get his support for his 1766 Ministry, if Bedford's demands, that his ' friends should be provided for ', had not been so excessively high ; Grafton was at last, 1768, obliged to accept some sort of arrangement to admit Bedfordites, but the Duke took no office himself. Thus, in conclusion, we may say that the Duke, although not in any sense of the word a bad man, was



GEORGE, FIRST BARON LYTTELTON,
OF FRANKLEY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



JOHN RUSSELL, FOURTH DUKE OF
BEDFORD, K.G.

From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough in the
National Portrait Gallery



RICHARD GRENVILLE, EARL TEMPLE, K.G.

From the portrait by William Hoare, R.A., in the
National Portrait Gallery



PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, FOURTH
EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, K.G.

From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough
belonging to Earl Stanhope at Chevening

a thoroughly bad politician, and the representative of a class which contained even worse politicians than himself. 'The faction he directed' (or, rather, which directed him) 'amalgamated cordially with no party.'

GEORGE LYTTTELTON

FIRST BARON LYTTTELTON

(1709-1773)

politician and man of letters, was the son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, of Hagley, Worcestershire, and a descendant of 'Littleton's Tenures'; he was at Eton and Christ Church, made the grand tour, entered Parliament in 1735, and was one of the foremost of the band which held together to bully Walpole, and, after Walpole's fall, to bully Carteret. This and his marriage connexions with the Grenvilles, with Lord Cobham and with Pitt, gave him a start in political life to which his abilities by themselves would never have entitled him. He attached himself to, and subsequently quarrelled with, Frederick Prince of Wales; he held minor office in Pelham's administration (1744), and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in Newcastle's (1755); Warburton said of him that he never in his life could learn that two and two made four, and so he was not a successful Chancellor, and he resigned with a peerage in the following year. He had, said Lord Hervey, a great flow of words, uttered in a lulling monotony, and the little meaning they had was borrowed from the commonplace maxims and sentiments of moralists. Johnson's estimate of his writings is not different from Hervey's and Walpole's estimate of his oratory and political sense, 'He sat down to write a book (the *Dialogues of the Dead*) to tell the world what the world all his life had been telling him.' Naturally Lyttelton's adhesion to Newcastle led to a quarrel with Pitt, which

was not healed till 1763. He was offered a post in the Rockingham Ministry but refused it. He wrote a great many very dull books in prose and verse, including a ponderous *History of Henry II.* He was a kind and genuine patron of literature, and helped James Thomson, the author of *The Seasons*; Fielding, his old schoolfellow, dedicated *Tom Jones* to him. He was famous for awkwardness of shape and of manners; Chesterfield said that he looked as if his head had already had *one* chop on the block, for it hung always to one shoulder or the other. But, though a solemn bore and prig, and a complete failure in public life, he was a good, virtuous, and religious man.

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE

FOURTH EARL OF CHESTERFIELD

(1694-1773)

was the son of Philip, third Earl, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the great Marquis of Halifax. He was brought into public life at an early age by his cousin Stanhope, the soldier-minister of George I, and in 1715 obtained a situation in the household of the Prince of Wales. He sat in the House of Commons before he was of age, and succeeded to his peerage in 1726; as Ambassador at the Hague (1728-32) he negotiated the second Treaty of Vienna in 1731. On his return he became one of the leaders in the opposition to Walpole, whose Excise scheme he helped to wreck, and, on Walpole's fall, with far less reason, he opposed Carteret, naturally incurring thereby the bitter displeasure of King George II. This displeasure was not mitigated by Chesterfield's marriage with a natural daughter of George I, and by litigation with the King over her alleged claim to a large portion. On the fall of Carteret and the accession of Pelham, Chesterfield became, for a

short time, but that a very critical time, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Scottish rising of 1745 had just begun, and Chesterfield's firmness, tact, and studied moderation defeated all the hopes which the legitimists had not unnaturally entertained of a rising in Ireland. The Earl's real title to political fame rests, in fact, upon his admirable handling of Ireland in 1745-6. He returned in the spring of 1746 and became Secretary of State in the autumn, but held this post for only fifteen months. He wrote an elaborate 'apology for his resignation', but, as Horace Walpole said, 'neither his book nor his retirement produced the least consequences'. Henceforth he took no open part in politics, for which attitude his increasing deafness was rather the excuse than the real cause. He had, however, the credit of supporting in 1751 the Bill for the Reform of the Calendar, and his last appearance in Parliament was in 1755.

It would hardly be fair to compare Chesterfield to Shelburne as a man 'feared by all, but trusted by none', and therefore never long employed by any Ministry. And it would be rash to place too much credit in all Horace Walpole's quips and all Lord Hervey's snarls at him; but Queen Caroline and Dr. Johnson did not hate really great men without some good cause. And there must have been something deeply at fault in the character that could keep such ability as Chesterfield's, when coupled with his unquestionable ambition, from rising to the very foremost place in the State. That Chesterfield was feared, even by those who most courted his society, is certain; and one reason was that he was believed to be writing the *Memoirs* of his own time. Such *Memoirs* would have been an amusing, if not a very trustworthy, record.

The keen intellect, the polished wit, the advanced liberalism, and the marvellous political insight of Halifax were reproduced in Chesterfield, but he had none of the disinterested patriotism and lofty character of his grandfather. An excellent Latin scholar, a perfect master of the French language, as of the French habits of thought, of French manners, and French morals of the age of Louis XV, Chesterfield could hold his

own as a wit with Voltaire, as a publicist with Montesquieu, as a satirist with Pope, as a gallant courtier with Lady Suffolk, as a gambler and rake with the leaders of White's, and as what in those days passed for a philosopher with Bolingbroke. He could hold up to worthy scorn in his *Broadbottom Letters* in 1743 the system of party jobbery as well as 'Hanoverian Interests'; he could foresee in the very middle of the eighteenth century the coming and the probably catastrophic character of the Revolution in France; he could denounce in his old age and retirement all attempts to coerce the American Colonies.

His zeal against most Governments procured him a legacy from the sturdy old termagant of Marlborough, and his rapier-like thrusts, in a celebrated speech on behalf of freedom of the stage from censorship, induced his enemy Hervey to rank him with Petronius Arbitrator. His contempt for rank and his ostentatious courtesy to his inferiors, if in reality part of his 'pose', impressed his contemporaries as genuine; and he was one of the very few men who ever refused a dukedom. Rancorous while his pen was in his hand for some temporary political or literary object, he was too much of an indifferent by nature to maintain any enmity for long, and it is to the credit of both George II and himself that the King (who was a good hater) abandoned his hatred of Chesterfield in the latest years of the Earl's political life. Finally Chesterfield's phrases, like those of Swift or Johnson, 'stick', and even the fact that many of them are now the stock 'tags' of our history books cannot spoil their perfect wit.

It is not fair to the England of the eighteenth century to say that his morals were 'those of his age', for they were distinctly worse; and in his position as a leader of fashion he set a very bad example to his age. In the other scale lay the example of another man of letters, of different origin, who was to set a very different example and to do much to reform the morals of his countrymen—Samuel Johnson. Johnson's unhesitating condemnation of Chesterfield did not rest merely upon the personal slights he had endured from him as a patron. We know now, thanks to the researches of Dr. Birkbeck Hill, that

Chesterfield did not call Johnson a respectable Hottentot, but the story is not inapt, for such was probably the estimate which the Earl formed, while Johnson was 'beating the track of the alphabet with sluggish resolution' and before he had become famous. When that happened it was the Earl who cringed and the dictionary-maker who spurned; Johnson had been right in proposing to dedicate his great work to one who was almost the supreme arbiter of literary elegance, and he was still more right when he refused to let his galleon 'be towed into harbour, after its voyage round the world of the English language, by the two cock-boats of letters', which Chesterfield put forth in the hopes of atoning for his meanness and neglect. But it was not the careless patron that roused great Samuel's wrath so much as the man whose 'Letters' to his natural son 'taught the morals of a whore and the manners of a dancing master'.

RICHARD GRENVILLE-TEMPLE

EARL TEMPLE

(1711-1779)

eldest son of Richard Grenville and of Hester Temple, elder brother of George Grenville, and brother-in-law of the great Lord Chatham, was educated at Eton, and entered Parliament in 1734. His earldom came to him in 1752 from his mother, who had been Countess Cobham in her own right, and had been created Countess Temple in 1749. The voice of public fame treated him as the creature of Pitt, because Pitt in 1756 made him First Lord of the Admiralty at the outset of his own first Administration; in reality he was the evil genius and tyrant of Pitt, who had unfortunately been under great pecuniary obligations to him in early life. As a Buckinghamshire magnate Temple believed himself to be the political heir of Hampden, and he read into his own

shameless spirit of faction the traditions of the Whiggery of a purer and nobler day. He was also the head of the Grenville family, a family quite above corruption, but steeped in an arrogance and self-righteousness that has hardly ever been exceeded. Pitt would in all probability, both as commoner and as Earl, have shaken himself free from the spirit of faction and 'family connexion' in politics, had it not been for his domineering brother-in-law. Kings George II and George III had very little in common, but they were alike in their rooted dislike of Lord Temple. But, although Temple had proved himself an almost impossible colleague in the few months of Pitt's first Ministry, to appease Pitt he had to be brought back, this time happily only as Privy Seal, into the second and great Administration, 1757-61. He was obliged to have the Garter in 1760 because if it had not been given him he would have made Pitt resign when the 'Year of Victories' was hardly over; and no doubt it was owing to his influence that Pitt actually did resign in the autumn of the next year. Temple took a savage delight in flouting his brother George by posing as the champion of Wilkes, mainly no doubt because thereby he flouted his King George as well; but he was quite ready to be reconciled to the brother when the brother had passed into opposition to the King. In the same spirit he opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act, and joined with the Bedford Whigs to worry the Rockingham Whigs. George III, almost in despair, offered him the Treasury; Temple scorned the offer. This was too much even for Pitt's familiar affection, and they had a long quarrel till 1768, a quarrel made infinitely more cruel by Chatham's broken state of health, and conducted with the most amazing virulence on Temple's side. As soon as Chatham reappeared in the Opposition Temple was at his side again, and encouraged him in his flights of rhetoric against North's Ministry. But at the same time he denounced with vehemence all proposals for recognizing the independence of the Colonies. So universal was the hatred with which Temple was regarded, so well known were his underground methods of calumny, so fierce and senseless was his open vituperation of his foes, that it is at least a

tenable position that, if 'Junius' were not Temple himself, he was at least some one very closely in Temple's confidence. The political world on both sides heaved a sigh of relief when in 1779 Temple was thrown from his carriage and broke his skull. The headship of his unpleasant family passed, together with a large share of his arrogance, ignorance, and lust for titles and power, to his nephew, created Marquis of Buckingham in 1784.

PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD

JAMES III AND VIII

(1688-1766)

was the only son of James II and VII by his second wife, Mary Beatrice of Modena, of the House of Este. He was born on the 10th of June at St. James's Palace. The designs of King James to reintroduce Catholicism in England were too well known for the event to be a pleasing one. Only in one College in the most loyal University of Oxford was there a bonfire to celebrate the Prince's birth; and to that College, Magdalen, a Popish Head had recently been appointed, and from it every faithful member of the Church of England had been ejected. James had, moreover, with even more than his usual blindness, omitted to take the steps necessary at the birth of an heir to the Crown, and none of the constitutionally qualified persons were present at that birth. The Queen, when already in labour, was hurried from Whitehall to St. James's Palace, which was full of back exits and entrances, and, so, 'fit for any plot'. The result was that every one who hated James and Papists began to mutter about a 'child smuggled into the palace in a warming-pan'. The Queen had not had a child for

several years, and none of her children had lived ; when her pregnancy was announced in the previous spring James had gone upon a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well to pray that she might bear a son ; and for months people had been saying ' the Jesuits will take care that she *does* bear a son ', and so on. Princess Anne openly disbelieved the birth of her brother, and wrote as much to Mary at the Hague. But though there were plenty of excuses for such doubts, time and evidence eventually showed that there was no real reason for them. The truth is that few respectable Protestants (the persons whose evidence alone would be accepted by the nation) were in the habit of going to Court, and also the Queen had not expected her baby so soon. But there were sixty-seven persons in the Palace at the time, and one of these, Lady Sunderland, was at the bedside, and would afterwards have had every imaginable interest in betraying the secret if there had been one. The infant Prince was conveyed away to France with his mother early in December 1688, and was brought up in exile at Saint-Germain, where his sister Louisa was born. The children were often contrasted with each other, the girl merry and lively, the boy shy, stiff, and melancholy. But he grew up tall and well-looking, with the long face peculiar to the later Stuarts. When he was in his fourteenth year his father died, and Louis XIV, in violation of his oath to the Treaty of Ryswick, at once visited his mother and recognized the Prince as James III and VIII. The household at Saint-Germain was a sad one ; the Queen, though one of the most pious women and the most tender mothers, was not discreet in her choice of servants and counsellors, and such plans as the exiles had were too often betrayed by persons in her *entourage*. The British Parliament at once attainted the young King, and an oath of abjuration of him was imposed upon all persons holding office or benefice in Great Britain and Ireland. But, on the accession of his half-sister Anne in the following spring, plots for his restoration began at once, and never wholly ceased until the accession of King George III. Scotland was the most hopeful seed-bed for such plots, for two reasons—the unpopularity in that country of the Revolu-



PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STUART, CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE

From the portrait by Alexis Siméon Belle in the National Portrait Gallery

tion Governments and of the Union which was their fruit, and the ancient connexion, never wholly forgotten, between Scotland and France. The agents employed in these plots were generally over-sanguine, often incompetent, sometimes traitors to both sides ; for instance, Lord Lovat in 1703. There were better hopes in 1708, owing to the recent Union, which seemed to the Scots the loss of independence. A French fleet actually took James to the coast of Scotland, and though it was entirely outclassed by the English fleet, and finally beaten by the weather, James himself was eager to land in a cockboat on the Fife coast ; but the French admiral refused, and James had to return to his exile. He then joined the French Army, under the scarcely veiled *incognito* of the 'Chevalier de Saint-George', and greatly distinguished himself with the Household troops in cavalry charges at Oudenarde and Malplaquet. As the war went more and more against France, Louis was obliged to tell James that he might have to buy peace by asking him to quit France ; and this was in fact one of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. James retired to Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine. What Queen Anne thought about recognizing him as her brother and successor has never been made clear ; and still less clear is it what her intriguing Tory Ministers were intending during the last year of her life. In her last week it does look as if Bolingbroke had some plan for a Restoration. But all such plans seem to have had one condition precedent—that James should change his religion. This he utterly refused to do. He was no bigot, and no *dévot* ; as he said of himself, he was 'a King, not an apostle'. He was tolerant by nature, and perfectly ready to grant and uphold toleration to the various forms of the Christian faith held by his English, Scottish, and Irish people ; but, as he wrote in the spring of 1714, if he were to change his faith for a crown, 'where is the man of honour that would trust me ? My present sincerity, at a time when it may cost me dear, ought to be a sufficient earnest to my subjects of my religious observance of whatever I promise them.'

The Jacobites made a fatal mistake when they failed to raise

Scotland, and such parts of the other kingdoms as would rise, immediately the breath was out of Anne's body ; the ' Fifteen ' ought to have been the ' Fourteen '. They made another mistake, and their young King's hesitation and bad judgement of mankind were to blame, when they allowed the traitor Bolingbroke to be their counsellor, and the fool Mar (soon to be a traitor also) to raise their standard. James had crossed France in disguise to Saint-Malo, and back to Dunkirk, before he could get passage to Scotland ; meanwhile Sheriffmuir had been fought, and Mar had thrown away chance after chance. The outlook was greatly favourable, the actual odds were overwhelmingly in favour of Mar when the campaign of 1715 began, but his utter incapacity wasted them all. James landed in Aberdeenshire in December, and was able to advance as far as Perth ; but his presence, instead of inspiring his unbroken army, had exactly the opposite result. He was the ' child of misfortune ', and he knew it ; and on this great occasion he allowed all his constitutional melancholy to appear. Mar persuaded him to retreat, and not to the Highlands but through Gowrie to Montrose, where they embarked together early in February, leaving their followers to disperse as best they could. The only evidence of kingliness James had given was to leave some of his scanty stock of money to compensate the villages which his army had burned on its retreat. James returned to Lorraine and took Mar instead of Bolingbroke for his chief adviser, thus getting in exchange for a knave a knave-and-fool. His next sojourn was at Avignon, then Papal territory. After some hopes from Charles XII of Sweden, extinguished by that King's death in 1718, James went to Madrid, where Cardinal Alberoni was trying to upset Europe in the Spanish interest and was thinking that a Jacobite restoration in Britain might suit Spain. The results were the little expedition to the north-west of Scotland in 1719, and the futile battle of Glenshiel. James then settled at Rome ; he was long in finding out Mar's treachery to himself, but in 1724 he replaced him by John Hay, Earl of Inverness, a Protestant. He had married in 1719 Clementina Sobieski, a Polish Princess, and she had

borne him a son, Prince Charles Edward, in 1720 ; but she was a hysterical foolish woman, and conceived a totally groundless jealousy of Lady Inverness, which her husband in vain tried to reason gently away. She was also a most bigoted Catholic, and objected to have any Protestants at their Court ; James insisted on toleration for all his exiled subjects. Naturally the Pope backed up the wife ; naturally also slander of every sort, for which there is not a shred of evidence, was whispered against the gentle, patient King. His wife's tears and tantrums at last obliged him to yield and to let Inverness retire ; henceforth he was his own secretary, and toiled all day at his extensive correspondence with agents in many lands ; but it was a toil uninspired by hope. In 1725, after the birth of her second son Henry, Clementina took refuge in a nunnery, but came out and was thoroughly reconciled to her husband a year before her death, which took place in 1735. The lot of exiles is hard, and in this King his misfortune only deepened his melancholy ; he had in fact little influence on his son's career, and never expected the ' Forty-five ' to succeed, though he gave freely of his little towards it. After its failure he never saw the Prince again ; the cause was quite lost then, and James sank into a courteous old gentleman, without serious interest in this world but a great deal in the next. It is worthy of notice that he attained an age, seventy-eight, not usual in his family.

He had hard measure in life, has had harder in history, and hardest of all in fiction. The fine touch of his first appearance in Book III, Chapter I, of *Esmond* does not make amends for the hopeless misrepresentation of him at the close of that wonderful romance ; but the writer had not at his disposal the means to know the truth. The rehabilitation of James as a simple, straightforward, sober, chaste, and highly honourable man, has been the work of Mr. Andrew Lang. This is not to say that James was at all qualified to be a King, a position for which his utter want of enterprise, his poor education, his ignorance of the world, quite unfitted him. He seldom trusted the right people, and constantly gave his confidence to those who did not deserve it.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

(1720-1788)

who also bore the names of Louis Philip Casimir, was the eldest son of the exiled King James III and of Clementina Sobieski. He was born at Rome, and grew up into a tall, athletic, headstrong boy, of character totally different from his father's; he could ride well, and could shoot at seven years of age. His father's melancholy and his mother's hysteria precluded any chance of a steady or continuous education, but the boy was clever and picked up French, Italian, and English rapidly, as he afterwards picked up some of the more difficult Gaelic. His first 'governor' was a Scottish Catholic, his next, to the wrath of his mother, a Scottish Protestant, with an Irishman, Sheridan, to help him; the result was that Charles had no special bias for any religion. In one matter he resembled his father and differed from James II and Charles II: he was not amorous. But neither his father nor his tutors could keep him in order. In 1734 he joined the Spanish Army that was besieging the Austrians in Gaeta, where his gallantry gained him lavish praises from the Duke of Liria. In 1737 he made a tour in North Italy, and was received with great enthusiasm in several cities.

From this time it is clear the Prince had but one idea in his head—the Cause, with a very big C; and he deliberately prepared for his part in it by exercising himself in long marches, by sleeping out of doors, and by endurance of fatigue of many kinds. He was six feet high, with light brown hair and blue eyes, with a complexion bronzed by the open air; but he was already too fond of wine, when he started from Rome for France in January 1744. The Jacobites, both in Scotland and abroad, had long had their eyes on him as a man fit to lead a forlorn hope, especially since the visit to Rome of Murray of Broughton in 1741. France was now favourable, and was preparing to embark



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD LOUIS PHILIP CASIMIR STUART
From the portrait painted in the studio of Nattier, in the National Portrait Gallery

10,000 men at Dunkirk, with Marshal Saxe to lead them. The ' Prince of Wales ' was already on board a Dunkirk transport. The ' influence of sea power on history ' was never more powerfully illustrated ; for King George's Admiral Norris was patrolling the Channel, the weather was rough, and the French fleet from Brest (which was to convey the Dunkirk transports) faced neither Norris nor the storm, but ran home again from Dungeness, and King Louis thereupon gave up the idea of invasion.

Charles gnawed his heart out for a year and a half in France, and at last determined to start alone and to throw himself on the loyalty of the Highlands. The story of the ' Forty-five ' is too well known to need recapitulation here ; from his arrival in the Long Island with but seven companions, at the end of July 1745, to the fatal hour at which he was forced, against his will and judgement, to turn back from Derby, on December 6, the Prince was the life and soul of the enterprise. Had his will, on several separate occasions, prevailed over that of his more experienced advisers, that enterprise might have succeeded ; e.g. he was probably right in wishing to march south immediately after Prestonpans, and in preferring the eastern road to the western, but on each occasion he was overruled. He was almost certainly right in wishing to push straight on to London from Derby ; and, later still, in wishing to hold southern Scotland instead of falling back to starvation and the Highlands after Falkirk. This is to say that he was right in wishing to trust to mere swift audacity and *élan* rather than to the accepted rules of prudent strategy, by violating which much of his early success had been obtained. He was shrewd enough also to know that, in spite of the tempestuous welcome in Edinburgh, a political Cause had yet to be made ; he was under no illusions as to the real indifference of all but the few whom tradition and passion had bound to him. By the sword only could he win, and every day that was allowed to pass lessened the chances of victory.

After that fatal winter's day at Derby the Prince was a changed man, his spirits vanished, and he became morose and suspicious. He

was not responsible for the defeat at Culloden, but he was responsible for the refusal to make another stand, which even the old fox Lovat advised him to do, at Ruthven or elsewhere. It is quite possible that he even left the battle-field too soon. During the five wonderful months, April to September 1746, in which he lurked in hills and caves and bothies with a price upon his head, he to some extent found himself again ; he had then to bear hardships infinitely worse than those of his great-uncle in his flight from Worcester, and he displayed in bearing them not a little of the good humour and good manners which were natural to his family. But he lived largely on whisky, and the habit of drink remained upon him in countries where he needed it less. He was kindly received by King Louis when he landed in France, but soon learned that he need expect no more help. At the Peace of 1748 he was requested to withdraw from that country, refused, and had to be removed ; he went first to Avignon, and thence no man knows whither. For years to come his movements are unknown to us, but were almost certainly known both to the British and French Governments. There is good evidence that he was in Lorraine, that he lived disguised in Paris, and that he was more than once in London. His best-known mistress, Clementina Walkinshaw, may possibly have been a spy ; some of the best of the Jacobites suspected her, but there is no proof of the fact. She left him, however, because he ill-treated her and drank heavily, in 1760 ; she had by him one daughter who eventually came (1784) to her father in his last years in Florence, was legitimated by him, and declared to be his heir. When King James died in 1766, the Prince expected the Vatican to recognize him as Charles III, but no European Power did this, and that is why he is called in History ' Prince ' and not ' King '. He was very angry with the Pope for a time, and in 1767 only agreed to be civil at the intervention of his gentle brother Henry, now a Cardinal. To Catholicism Charles never showed more than an outward conformity, but he gained nothing by the fact of being quite ready to turn Protestant. When he married the eighteen-year-old Princess Louisa of Stolberg in 1772 he received

the promise of a pension from Louis XV, but he was already far down the hill, and prematurely aged by drink. After a short attempt at reform, he began to drink again, and in 1780 the Princess left him because he actually struck her ; also because she had fallen in love with the poet Alfieri, whose mistress she afterwards became. Charles spent most of his later years at Florence (where the weathercock over the Palazzo Guadagni still bore in 1903 the cypher C.R.), but died in Rome early in 1788.

His story reveals his character. He had spirit, high courage, patience of fatigue, a devotion to an ideal, much real intelligence, and much of the makings of a good leader of men in him—up to a certain date. Then came a sudden heart-break, and thereafter a steady and rather rapid loss of all these qualities ; there was nothing to fall back on ; there had never been much ballast in him, there was no religious feeling ; the Cause was lost for ever and only the bottle remained.

JOHN ERSKINE

ELEVENTH EARL OF MAR

(1675-1732)

not inappropriately called 'Bobbing John', is best known as the incapable leader of the Jacobite descent on Scotland in 1715. He succeeded his father in the year of the Revolution, and took the oaths in 1696 ; he professed himself a follower of Queensberry, and, after a little coquetry with the Legitimists in 1704, was a warm supporter of the Union ; thereupon he was appointed Secretary for Scotland and Keeper of the Signet. He sat in three successive Parliaments as a representative peer, but in 1713 he supported a motion for repeal of the Union. After professing loyalty to King George, he suddenly fled from England, and raised King James's standard at Aboyne in

September 1715. At the head of the little army of Highlanders he moved south and occupied Perth, while Argyll held Stirling for the Hanoverians ; Mar was as slow and inefficient in his strategy during the critical weeks of October as he was rash and unready in his tactics when he met Argyll (who was barely one-third of his, Mar's, strength) at Sheriffmuir on November 13. Mar's army, if commanded as the Highlanders were thirty years later, would have swept Argyll in headlong flight over the Forth, and probably over the Border, before the end of September ; as it was, after Sheriffmuir, Mar fell back on Perth, received poor James (who landed at the end of the year in Aberdeenshire) near Scone, and fell back before Argyll till he reached Montrose, burning the villages as he retreated (a deed which brought tears to the eyes of his gentle King). All the Highlanders were still full of fight, and it was sheer insanity not to make a stand ; but Mar induced James to take ship early in February, and fled with him to the Continent. After entertaining some hopes from Sweden, and some from an overture to Argyll (who had been treated with shameless ingratitude by the Whigs), Mar began to intrigue against James with Lord Stair. The Jacobites found this out, but Mar persuaded them for some time that it was only a blind. He betrayed Atterbury into a correspondence with himself, and then betrayed that correspondence to the English Government ; he intrigued with the Regent Orleans. By 1724 or 1725 each side had abandoned him as a trifling, but not very dangerous, knave, and he lived unmolested in Paris and at Aix-la-Chapelle till his death.

Long after Mar had been in receipt of a regular and large pension from the British Government (£3,500 a year) James had insisted on looking on this traitor as a man who had lost all for the Jacobite cause.



JOHN ERSKINE, SIXTH OR ELEVENTH
EARL OF MAR, K.T.

From the portrait by Hyacinthe Rigaud belonging
to the Earl of Mar and Kellie at Alloa House, N.B.



GEORGE KEITH, TENTH AND LAST EARL
MARISCHAL OF SCOTLAND

From the portrait by P. Costanzi in the National
Portrait Gallery



SIMON FRASER, TWELFTH BARON
LOVAT

From the portrait by William Hogarth in
the National Portrait Gallery



FLORA MACDONALD

From a portrait by Allan Ramsay in the Bodleian
Library, Oxford

GEORGE KEITH TENTH EARL MARISCHAL

(1693?–1778)

was eldest son of the ninth Earl, and, by his mother's side, a Drummond. The title, originally that of an office dating back at least to the days of Robert Bruce, became hereditary, and was held, with varying fortune, by the Aberdeenshire family of Keith, of which the most illustrious was that fifth Earl Marischal who founded the College of his name at Aberdeen, and went to Denmark for James VI to ask for the hand of the Danish Princess Anne. The ninth Earl, father of George, had protested against the Union, and had negotiated privately with King James; he died in 1712, and George, who held a commission in Anne's Army at the time, wished to proclaim James III and VIII at once upon her death. Failing that he rode to Scotland, picked up his young brother (King James's godson and namesake, the future Field-Marshal of Russia and of Prussia), and joined Mar at the raising of the standard in Deeside; the brothers fought like lions at Sheriffmuir, vainly prayed the unbeaten Highland army to make another stand, refused to embark with James, and eventually escaped in 1716 to France and so to Spain. In 1719 the Earl Marischal, now attainted, commanded the small Spanish company that landed in Lewis; he joined Tullibardine and Lord George Murray, and was with them defeated at Glenshiel; Marischal escaped wounded to the Islands, and thence to Spain. Poor exiled King James, who had a faculty for pitching on the wrong man to trust, employed men who habitually traduced this most honest loyalist, and who nicknamed him the 'honourable fool'. Marischal earnestly advised Prince Charles against the gallant enterprise of 1745; he was always ready to 'do it again', but he had no reason to believe in the chances at that

moment, and he thoroughly disliked the Irish counsellors that were about the Prince. After the failure of the 'Forty-five' Marischal went to Vienna, and, when his brother James (who had already had a long and glorious career in the Russian service) was made a Field-Marshal of Prussia by Frederick the Great, himself sought the same service. Frederick at once perceived his worth, and employed him successively as Ambassador in Paris, as Governor of the little province of Neuchâtel, as Ambassador in Spain. In this last capacity, as Frederick was now the ally of George II and Pitt, Marischal easily obtained the reversal of his own attainder, visited London and saw the Minister and perhaps the King, received the assurance that the Earldom of Kintore, about to lapse by heredity to him, should be allowed to do so, and sent Pitt from Spain news of the most valuable kind, namely, of the secret 'Family Compact' just concluded between Charles III and Louis XV. After the Peace of Paris he returned to Scotland with the intention of settling there, but Frederick the Great, who loved few men, really loved this sturdy and eccentric old gentleman, and implored him to come back to Berlin, which he agreed to do in 1764. Marischal lived on terms of affectionate intimacy with the warrior-king till his own death at a great but uncertain age—eighty-six is usually given. Carlyle quotes in his *Frederick* some delightful letters, written in 1770 and 1774, from Sir Robert Murray Keith and from Marshal Conway, describing the old man's manner of life in his villa at Potsdam. 'He is the most innocent of God's creatures; and his heart is much warmer than his head' [which is curious, since ten years before he had been proving himself a very able diplomat]; his ideas and his manner of living are described as 'half-Aberdeenshire half-Spanish'; 'I believe him to be a most sincere convert to Whiggery and orthodoxy' [another very improbable statement]. Marischal was the inventor of the game out of which 'Kriegsspiel' grew; he was also something of a *philosophe*, and corresponded on friendly terms with Voltaire; altogether a fine specimen of the Scot abroad. His gallant brother James had been killed, to Frederick's great grief, at the battle of Hochkirch.

SIMON FRASER TWELFTH BARON LOVAT

(? 1667-1747)

Highland Chief, might almost be described as a professional traitor. The facts, that he was executed for his share in the last rising on behalf of the Stuarts, and that he was the last peer executed for high treason in Britain, have veiled, but cannot atone for, his half-century of treason to both sides—that of the Revolution and that of the Legitimists. Mr. Andrew Lang compares him to ‘ Barry Lyndon ’, and even says that there was a touch of insanity in his cunning.

Simon was the son of Thomas Fraser, a younger son of the eighth Lord Lovat, and his mother was a Macleod. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it was probably soon after the Restoration. He received a good classical education at Aberdeen, and was able to pose—none better—as a scholar and a gentleman. The title and estates of Lovat were in dispute on the death in 1696 of the tenth Lord without male heirs, but were claimed, adversely to Simon’s father Thomas, by the daughter of this tenth Lord. This lady Simon either married, or attempted to marry, by force, and he got into great trouble in consequence ; towards the end of King William’s life he skilfully availed himself of the feud between the Campbells and the Murrays to get a pardon, and meanwhile his father, styled the eleventh Lord Lovat, had died. In 1700 Simon, now reckoning himself twelfth Lord, began his career of playing fast and loose between London and Saint-Germain. He probably deceived the foolish old James II, and perhaps Louis XIV, but not Queen Mary Beatrice nor her son, although he professed himself a convert to Catholicism in 1702. After many comings and goings in France, Great Britain, and Holland, he was arrested in France, and

spent the last years of Anne's reign in prison or under surveillance there ; his wife, if wife she was, had meanwhile got his estates adjudged to herself by the Scottish Court of Session, and had married a Mackenzie. The Clan Fraser did not like this, and persisted in regarding Simon as their real Chief ; regard for his clan, though purely a political regard, was the most respectable thing about Simon. He escaped from France at the end of Anne's reign, and raised his clan for King George in 1715 ; he captured Inverness, and rendered other real service to the Whig cause. His unquiet spirit led him again to coquet with the exiled Court at the date of the abortive attempt of 1719, and he was obliged to go and ' explain himself ' in London. At this art he was an adept, and soon after his return he recommended the raising of companies of clansmen, each under its Chief, to be entrusted by the Government with the task of policing the Highlands ; these were known as the ' Sidier dhu ' (black soldiers) in opposition to the red-coats or regulars. In 1733, after a long lawsuit, he obtained full possession of his title and estates. He aided his friend Lord Grange, as black a spirit as himself, in the forcible restraint and imprisonment of the termagant Lady Grange in 1732 ; and in 1737 began to take up Jacobite intrigue again, stipulating for a Dukedom as the price of his adhesion to James. But when in 1745 the Prince actually landed in Scotland the old fox could not make up his mind, and the Frasers, though put under arms with the Master of Lovat (Simon's son by his second wife, an honourable and open Jacobite, but only nineteen years old), were too late to join the advance to Derby, and only came in just before Falkirk. Simon himself was seized as a hostage by the Whig Governor of Inverness in December, but escaped in January. After Culloden he had an interview with the Prince, and exhorted him in vain to make another stand, and then went and hid himself on an island in Loch Morar, where he was caught and brought to London. He defended himself with great ability and coolness on his trial in the spring of 1747, and died, professing himself a Catholic, with a couple of jests and a tag of Horace on his lips. It is to be regretted that the last sufferers for

the cause of King James should be represented in this volume only by Hogarth's well-known portrait of this accomplished scoundrel ; no portrait of Lord Balmerino—a very different character—could be obtained.

FLORA MACDONALD

(1722–1790)

was the daughter of a cadet of Clanranald, Ronald Macdonald of Milton, South Uist, who died when she was a child. Her mother married Macdonald of Armadale in 1728, and the girl was brought up first by Clanranald, and then by Sir Alexander and Lady Macdonald of Mougstot or Monkstat, Skye, and went to Edinburgh under Lady Macdonald's care to finish her education. She happened to be on a visit to Benbecula in 1746 when Prince Charles Edward arrived in the Long Island during his wanderings after Culloden. Flora's own stepfather was in command of the Militiamen, who were believed to be making active search for the Prince. On June 21, according to the journal of Captain O'Neil, ' at midnight we [the Prince and O'Neil] came to a hut where by good fortune we met with Miss Flora Macdonald, whom I formerly knew ' ; and, after some hesitation, Flora agreed to convey the Prince, disguised as an Irish spinning-maid and passing under the name of Betty Burke, to the island of Skye. She procured from her stepfather a passport for herself, her manservant, the disguised Prince, and a boat's crew of six men, together with a recommendation of the aforesaid ' Betty Burke ' to his own wife (Flora's mother), then residing at Armadale in Skye, ' as she had much lint to spin.' The party crossed the Minch on June 27–8 in safety, but were driven off from their first attempt at landing in Skye by armed militia ; they put to sea again, and landed in Trotternish near the house of Monkstat. Lady Macdonald was at home, and, though her husband was serving

the English Government in Cumberland's Army, fell in with Flora's plans, which were to take the Prince to the house of her factor, Macdonald of Kingsburgh. There the Prince enjoyed a long rest, for a night and half a day, in a bed, an unwonted luxury for him ; and it was there that one of Kingsburgh's daughters (who was not in his secret) thought him ' a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up wife '. In fact ' Betty ' was not clever at managing his female attire ; he was very tall, and would walk with a man's stride. But his guide was a young lady of great presence of mind and calm temper ; she had not, when O'Neil first approached her, been willing to undertake the task, and she performed it in no high-flown spirit of loyalty, but ' she would do the same for any person in distress ', as she afterwards informed great personages in England.

On the 30th Kingsburgh procured for the Prince, who walked and changed into man's dress on the way, a guide to Portree ; Flora rode, and there is some doubt whether they followed the same track, but it was at Portree, before Charles embarked for the little isle of Raasay, that they finally took leave of each other, the Prince expressing a hope that they ' might yet one day meet at St. James's '. On her return to Milton, the secret having leaked out, Flora was arrested and carried to London. She was sent to the Tower, and then committed to the custody of a King's messenger. On her liberation in 1747, she received a good deal of homage from fashionable society as a heroine, which no more turned her head than her really brave and fortunate exploit had turned it. She married in 1750 Allan Macdonald, younger of Kingsburgh, and received at Kingsburgh in 1773 the honoured visit of Dr. Johnson and Boswell, of which the latter has given a delightful account in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. ' She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance and uncommonly mild and well bred ', are his words. Johnson slept in the Prince's bed, and Boswell was amused to note that Hogarth's print of Wilkes hung on the walls of their room. Flora told them the story of her exploit, softened but not distorted by twenty-seven years of memory. She and her husband

were then not very well off, and emigrated to North Carolina in the next year. Allan Macdonald fought for King George in the American Rebellion and was taken prisoner. His wife returned to Scotland in 1779, and was wounded in a sea-fight with a Frenchman on her voyage. Her husband was released at the Peace, and they spent their last years at their old home at Kingsburgh. She brought up five sons, who all served King George by land or sea, and two daughters.

WILLIAM HOGARTH

(1697-1764)

painter and engraver, was the son of Richard Hogarth and Anne Gibbons. The father was descended from a line of Westmoreland yeomen, who are said to have been tenants of Shap Abbey at the dissolution of the monasteries. The etymology of the name is probably the same as that of Howard, and its first bearers no doubt guarded sheep or swine. Richard Hogarth came to London late in the seventeenth century, and, after trying to earn a living by school-keeping, turned to the humbler walks of literature and to press-correction. William was born in the City, and was probably educated by his father until he went as apprentice to a silversmith. About the age of twenty-one he set up as an engraver and designed his own engravings, working chiefly for booksellers, and developing more and more his power of exact observation and satirical humour. Before 1730 he had struck out a new line for himself by beginning to paint what he called 'conversation pieces', that is, interiors with groups of persons engaged in the ordinary avocations of life—always with the idea (though the idea was not always executed) of multiplying copies of his subjects by engraving. In his greatest period, indeed, the engravings often preceded the oil-painting of the subjects, which, in some cases, was never

carried out at all. He was acquainted from 1724 with Sir James Thornhill, Sergeant-Painter to George I, a capable designer on the 'grand scale' and the first native artist to receive a knighthood; and in 1729 Hogarth ran away with Thornhill's only daughter, Jane. Jane Hogarth, the most devoted and charming of wives, long survived her husband, and his most beautiful faces were probably painted from her. Hogarth's first striking success was made with the connected series of 'conversation pieces' known as 'The Harlot's Progress' about 1731-2; there was then no copyright in works of art and these engravings were shamelessly pirated. On the death in 1734 of his father-in-law, to whom with some difficulty Lady Thornhill had reconciled the truants, Hogarth set up an 'academy', or school of design, in St. Martin's Lane, near his own house in Leicester Square. In 1735 came the Act of Parliament which protected artists' designs from piracy, and Hogarth was free from anxiety in bringing out his future plates, although the Act was hardly in time to save one of the greatest of his series, the 'Rake's Progress', from the pilferers. Next year, however, he launched out, with far less success, in the 'grand historical' style, decorating the staircase of St. Bartholomew's Hospital with scripture subjects of great size. For the Foundling Hospital, of which he had become a Governor, he executed in 1739 a portrait of its benefactor Coram and other paintings. The most famous of all his consecutive stories in design, 'Marriage-à-la-Mode', came out in 1745; his famous portrait of himself with a dog was engraved in 1749 (though perhaps painted earlier); 'The March to Finchley' dates to 1750; 'Beer Street', 'Gin Lane', and 'The Four Stages of Cruelty', to 1751. Two years later Hogarth embarked upon the strange, and to him unsuitable, career of a critic on the principles of art, and published a work called *The Analysis of Beauty*, but, in spite of his having several distinguished men of letters to assist him in the composition, he failed to make himself intelligible to readers. The last of his great series, 'The Election', richest of all his works in subtle and humorous contrasts as well as in rollicking fun, appeared between 1755 and 1758;



WILLIAM HOGARTH

From a portrait by himself in the National Gallery

the altar-piece of St. Mary Redcliffe (the best of his historical or sacred compositions) in 1756 ; ' The Lady's Last Stake ' was painted in 1759 ; ' Sigismunda ', painted from Mrs. Hogarth, was the result of a commission, the payment for which was never made. His last satire was an attack upon his old acquaintance Wilkes, who was then just beginning his baleful career as agitator, in two plates called ' The Times ' ; the first was published in 1762, the second was not brought out in the artist's lifetime. To the former Wilkes replied with savage malice in the *North Briton*, and inflicted a deadly wound on the artist. Wilkes's friend Churchill joined in the attack, and Hogarth retorted with caricatures of each. Hogarth, who had been in ill-health for some months, died rather suddenly in 1764 and was buried at Chiswick.

He holds a unique position in the world of Art. In the first place, he was the first great native artist of our country ; and he was so thoroughly native that he constantly spoke as if he undervalued, and even despised, all those great masters of other lands who had gone before him ; he set himself, in fact, to combat the whole taste of his day for the Italian schools. In many ways he was right to do so, for the ' Taste ', with a big T, as exemplified by Horace Walpole, often ran into extravagant admiration for the very unworthy successors of Raphael and Titian, for the Bolognese and Parmesan Schools ; and all the artist, as well as all the pugnacious Briton, in ' honest Bill Hoggart ' (as he often called and pronounced himself) revolted against this ; but he did not really despise Raphael and Titian themselves. In the second place, for some strange reason, he, who possessed the truest sense of beauty, seems deliberately to have turned his back upon it, or only to have used it as a foil for his humorous and satirical art ; that he did possess it in fullest measure is seen from the few very noble and beautiful female figures which he placed in his compositions. In the third place, as a composer, in his perfectly harmonious ' setting of the scenes ', in their infinitely varied details and suggestions, he has never been equalled at all. ' The eye,' says Leslie, ' is never confused even in his fullest or most complicated subject, but every object, from

the largest to the smallest, tells at once for what it is intended—yet never obtrusively, never at the expense of the general masses.’ This harmony of composition is rendered more wonderful when we realize that Hogarth occasionally showed manifest ignorance of the principles of perspective.

Yet it is perhaps true, that, great and among the greatest as Hogarth was in his art, he was greater still as a satirist and moralist, as a delineator of the life of his day with moral reflections thereupon. As Swift wrote of him in 1736, he could

Draw them so that we may trace
All the soul in ev’ry face.

As Lamb long afterwards wrote, ‘he brings us acquainted with the everyday human face’. Hogarth’s power of storing up images of the men and women around him, so that when drawing from memory he could transfer them to canvas, was amazing. ‘Be where I would, while my eyes were open,’ he said of himself, ‘I was continually at my studies, and acquiring something useful to my profession.’ Yet he was not in the very least a ‘realist’, in the vulgar modern sense of the word, any more than he was a caricaturist. He could do caricature, as may be learned from his ‘Wilkes’, and he savagely lampooned the French (see his ‘Invasion’, and ‘Calais Gate’), partly, perhaps, because, on his only brief trip across the Channel, he had very nearly been arrested; but his satire in general is as far above caricature, as his ‘comedies with the pencil’ are above realism; just in the same degree and for the same reason as Shakespeare’s, Hogarth’s comic scenes are above realism. ‘He was a painter of Nature in the highest sense, as distinguished from a painter of a matter of fact’; he never aimed at mere literal truth, but what he saw he made a vehicle of general satire; and it is in this that he shows himself superior to almost the whole of the Dutch School. Hogarth was stern and always lashed vice; he knew that vice ingrained does not repent or get pardoned. His villains always ‘get their flogging at the gangway’ when his ship comes into port; but Mr. Austin Dobson, who calls him

in this respect 'uncompromising, unrelenting, uncompassionate', says too much; the first epithet is indeed true, but not the others. Hogarth never lost sight of Nature, and he constantly shows us touches of good, just as Fielding does, when we least expect them. 'His heart would never have allowed him, had he been a writer, to have conceived Swift's Yahoos.' Side by side with his most appalling incarnations of vice may generally be found some little figure or incident suggestive of the tenderest pathos or humour, and for this purpose he made especial use of the figures and natural actions of children.

Fielding loved him, Swift 'needed him', Garrick and Johnson wrote his epitaph; but in his lifetime he had no patronage worth the name, and the prices he realized were miserable. Horace Walpole saw indeed half of his greatness, but only half; and it was not until 1814, when the first collection of his works was exhibited, that his true worth began to be realized.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

(1728-1774)

poet, and man of letters, son of the Reverend Charles Goldsmith, a curate and afterwards a rector in the Irish Church, and of Ann Jones, was born at Pallas, near Ballymahon, Ireland, was educated at various small schools at the expense of his relatives, and entered Trinity College Dublin as a sizar in 1744. His uncle by marriage, Mr. Thomas Contarine, was his constant benefactor, and started him successively as a candidate for the Church, for emigration, for the Law, and for Medicine. From each of these adventures Oliver came back having either spent, given, or gambled away the money with which his uncle had supplied him.

In 1753, under colour of pursuing his medical studies abroad,

Oliver went upon a prolonged tour upon the Continent, and no one knows how he supported himself ; he may have taken pupils, or he may have played the flute for a living, but he arrived in London with empty pockets and a light heart in 1756, and was successively chemist, physician, usher, review-writer (for the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*), and for a short time usher again. He then had some hopes of a medical appointment on the Coromandel Coast, but failed to qualify in his examination at Surgeons' Hall, 1758.

In 1759 he published his *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* ; he had now fully embarked on the career of ' man of letters ', and contributed to several magazines ; Griffiths, Smollett, Wilkie, Newberry, and Davies successively employed him ; Burke and Bishop Percy already admired his writings. *The Citizen of the World* (London life as seen through the spectacles of an imaginary Chinaman) appeared in 1762, and the author was acquainted with Johnson from the early summer of 1761. The result of a visit to Bath in the next year was Goldsmith's very amusing *Life of Beau Nash*. He became one of the nine original members of ' The Club ' in 1764, and produced his charming poem *The Traveller* at the end of that year, and his immortal *Vicar of Wakefield* in 1766. This had been written earlier, but, as was its author's way with all his best work, he had kept it back for careful polishing ; Boswell's story of the way in which Johnson sold it for Goldsmith to the publisher is, no doubt, substantially true. Goldsmith was quite ready to write, and did actually write, a *History of Rome*, a *History of England*, and a *History of Animated Nature*. Though they were not published until after his death, he was well paid for these in his lifetime, perhaps extraordinarily paid for the last, if we reflect that, in *The Citizen of the World*, he had stated that tigers lived in Canada. But if Swift could write charmingly about a broomstick, Goldsmith could write charmingly about anything. He found his truer, perhaps his truest, vein in the delightful comedies of *The Good-natured Man*, 1768, and *She Stoops to Conquer*, 1773. Between them came the poem of *The Deserted Village*, 1770. The considerable sums



OLIVER GOLDSMITH

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to Lord Sackville at Knowle

which he received from these works melted away in tavern dinners, fine clothes, madeira, and perhaps in gambling ; and the poet died two thousand pounds in debt. He was buried in the Temple Church ; Johnson's famous epitaph for the memorial to him, placed in Westminster Abbey two years later, is well known.

Truly if Goldsmith touched literature on every side he touched nothing without adorning it. Taste was finer then than it is now ; the reading public had less accurate knowledge, but infinitely more relish for beautiful thoughts, beautiful phrases, and perfect humour. Canadian tigers (and Goldsmith's public neither knew nor cared if they existed) were quite pardonable to the man who could write *The Haunch of Venison* and the gentle satires on Burke and Garrick, and whose last lines were the incomplete epitaph on Reynolds. These things, with the poems, the *Vicar*, and much of the comedies, were the fine flower of that delightful age—an age unspoiled in its taste by the terrible seriousness of the French Revolution and the breaking up of the well-springs of the great deep. There were indeed parts of the comedies that were not at first very well received in the theatre ; the scene with the bailiffs in *The Good-natured Man*, and Tony Lumpkin in *She Stoops to Conquer*, were at first voted ' low ' ; but the great dramatist was, in these, breaking fresh ground—he was leading his contemporaries towards a broader humour and a broader humanity, and much of the latter comedy has passed into our everyday speech. So have whole characters and ideas out of the *Vicar*, and many lines from *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village*.

There is no doubt that Boswell was jealous of ' Goldy ', as Johnson loved to call his friend. Boswell would not lie about him (nor about any one else), but he would not always represent him in the most favourable light ; he would paint the vanity of Goldsmith without telling his readers, what he probably saw, that it was a perfectly innocent vanity, and was even occasionally assumed to heighten the humour of a situation. Also he probably exaggerated the sensitiveness of the poet. If we had only Boswell to go by, we might easily imagine

that Goldsmith was an unhappy high-strung creature, suffering under the blows of fortune ; no one's enemy, indeed, but his own, but such a very serious enemy of himself as to wreck his life. The answer to this is that no unhappy man could have written what Goldsmith wrote ; his mind must have been to him the most entrancing kingdom, lit up by rays coming straight from the thrones of the Muses to a very highly favoured son.

Dr. Birkbeck Hill was of opinion that if Goldsmith had had a secure pension, as Johnson had, or such kind friends as the Thrales, he might have produced even more of such perfect work. Yet perhaps nothing could have prevented him from anticipating the pension, and he would certainly have run away from the friends ; he was by nature a native of the State of Apodidraskiana, but unlike its other inhabitants, it was always away from, rather than towards, his own advantage that he ran. In his earlier days the booksellers found that the best way to get work out of him was to keep, feed, and clothe him in their houses ; he would then work with punctuality, but he never could stand it long. Commercial morality he had obviously none. He could not pay a tailor or a milkman ; if he did not actually pawn books that were lent him he ' lent them to friends who lent him money '. He ' lived on a capital of debts ' ; only, unlike that of Mrs. Rebecca Crawley, it was not ' judiciously laid out ', and was never consciously so. It is probable that he wearied out the patient friendship even of Johnson, Reynolds, and Burke by his lack of the most elementary notions of pecuniary obligation, for none of them were with him when he died. But it must always be remembered that our ideas of the immorality of owing money have been revolutionized by the abolition of imprisonment for debt ; in the time of Goldsmith there was a sanction, other than moral, for the hardened practitioner.

SAMUEL JOHNSON

(1709-1784)

man of letters, son of Michael Johnson, bookseller, and Sarah Ford, was born at Lichfield, touched for the King's evil by Queen Anne in his infancy, educated at small schools at Lichfield and Stourbridge, and displayed an early precocity for verse-writing and for extensive but desultory reading. He entered Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1728, resided there continuously for little over a year, and, owing to poverty, quitted the College without a degree in 1731. His father died on the verge of bankruptcy in the same year. Samuel became usher in a school at Market Bosworth for a few months; then at Birmingham lived in some ill-defined capacity with a bookseller, for whom he produced his first published work—a translation of a French *Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1735. He married in that year Elizabeth Porter, a widow twenty years older than himself with a grown-up daughter, and set up a private school near Lichfield. In 1737 he, with David Garrick, recently his pupil, started for London, with part of his tragedy *Irene* in his pocket, being resolved to seek his fortune in literature. He began to contribute to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1738; until 1743 he occasionally wrote for this paper an account of the debates in Parliament. In 1738 he published his imitation of Juvenal, entitled *London*. In 1744 came his *Life of Richard Savage*, which exposed the miseries of impecunious authors in London. In 1747 appeared his proposals for a new *Dictionary of the English Language*, the cost of which was to be defrayed by a syndicate of booksellers; it appeared in two volumes folio eight years later.

With the commencement of this great work, in his thirty-eighth year, what may be called the legendary period of Johnson's life comes to an end. In that period there are whole years during which even Dr. Birkbeck Hill's love, industry, and acumen have been unable to

trace his movements ; Johnson himself did not love to talk of that time to Boswell or to any one, and only occasionally let slip references to it ; also he had a good talent for forgetting. But it is tolerably clear that in those years he was, through much tribulation of mind and body, accumulating knowledge of men and books, fighting down whole armies of bugbears, and fitting himself for entering upon his kingdom. He suffered from constitutional melancholy and constitutional indolence. His huge frame and his ungainly gestures exposed him to ridicule, and he had continually to struggle against a tendency to resent slights and injuries. He had had long hesitations between a scholastic and a literary career ; for the former he soon learned himself to be unfitted, yet it might bring bread and a little cheese, while the latter at first, to a man of his irregular habits of work, promised mere starvation. Over all brooded a deep sense of religious awe, yet awe of a God who too often hid Himself ; hence his constant private reproaches to himself of the *video meliora proboque* type. Of Mrs. Johnson we know nothing trustworthy ; she was often with him in London, oftener perhaps with her daughter at Lichfield. She died in 1752, five years after the end of the legendary period, and Johnson felt a passionate and self-reproachful attachment to her memory ; to his step-daughter Lucy Porter he was tenderly attached throughout his life.

With the close of the legendary period, though we still know little of his interior in Gough Square, where his amanuenses (all Scots, be it noticed) were labouring at his Dictionary, Johnson came before the world as an author of repute. *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, 1749 ; *Irene*, performed at Drury Lane, with a prologue by Garrick, a month later ; that charming little magazine *The Rambler*, which came out twice a week for two years, 1750-52 ; all these attested the fact of his industry, and brought him fame, though no great profit. The first visit to Oxford since his departure as a friendless scholar in 1731 took place in 1754 ; he was the honoured guest of Warton at Trinity, and the University conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts. It was



SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

in these years also that he first became known to a large circle of friends as the best talker in London. With such admirable skill has Boswell, writing of a time long before his first meeting with Johnson, picked up the threads of the events of these years, that Langton and Beauclerk live for us in his pages as vividly as Reynolds, Goldsmith, and Burke; Johnson's acquaintance with the last two probably began about 1761.

Even after the appearance of the Dictionary in 1755 the wolf of poverty had not been driven for good from the door of Gough Square or Bolt Court; in the next year Johnson was arrested for a small debt, and owed his release to the loan of a few guineas from the novelist Samuel Richardson. His own boundless charity to those in worse circumstances than himself had already begun, and the blind and cantankerous Mrs. Williams and the broken-down physician Levett were already inmates of his house; Mrs. Desmoulins and Poll Carmichael were added at a later period. Francis Barber, his negro servant, came to him in 1752. It is the fashion to regret, and even to arraign, Johnson's idleness and procrastination, especially in the period immediately succeeding the publication of the Dictionary; but those who regard the entry to his society as the greatest privilege of their reading life will be of another mind; they will be able to see him, as it were, shaking his big limbs and peering around with his purblind eyes with some consciousness of good work done and enjoying a temporary rest. He was collecting materials for his edition of Shakespeare, and in 1758-60 conducting and largely writing *The Idler*; *Rasselas* was written in a week to pay the last expenses of his aged mother, who died in 1759. In 1762 came, by Bute's influence, the welcome pension of £300 a year; it was a gratuitous gift, not a hire; if Johnson ever wrote anything in favour of any Government, we may be sure that he even more wrote in favour of his own opinions; he did write against the American rebels, and it is only now that reasonable men on both sides of the Atlantic are coming to see how much he was in the right. In 1763 came Boswell's first introduction to his hero, to which is owing not only the

most satisfying biography ever written, but the fact that the English Republic of Wisdom and Letters has an elected President whose tenure of office is for all time. Sir Walter Raleigh well says that Johnson would have been famous for ever without Boswell ; but it is Boswell who has brought him home to our hearths and hearts as well as to our understandings. Johnson's foundation of ' The Club ' dates to the ensuing winter ; Reynolds and he were the originators ; the society still exists and flourishes. To the same year 1764 belongs Johnson's introduction to the Thrales, in whose pleasant country house at Streatham he passed so many happy hours until Thrale's death in 1781. His famous interview with George III took place in 1767 ; his *Shakespeare* had come out two years before. It has been often and justly criticized, for Johnson least of all men was an Elizabethan or a romanticist, and he knew comparatively little of the world in which Shakespeare moved. No doubt he was shrewd enough to discern that new forces in literary taste were making in through creeks and inlets, but he averted his eyes and ears from them ; he was unjust to Gray. He sat hard on the safety-valve, it was an exercise to which he was not unaccustomed ; he had sat hard upon David Hume.

In 1773 came the tour to the Hebrides, Boswell's account of which is perhaps the most perfect detached idyll in any living book ; Johnson's mild Jacobitism took fire as he listened to Flora Macdonald's tale of her adventure, and his piety grew warmer amid the ruins of Iona. In 1775 the University of Oxford gave him the degree of D.C.L., but he had already for ten years been LL.D. of Dublin. Two years later he began, in his sixty-eighth year, the best of his books, his *Lives of the English Poets*, a series of model biographies abounding in sober judgement, and enlivened by delightful prejudices. They were published in 1779 and 1781. All these years, from 1763 till almost the end, Johnson was able to indulge his passion not only for London and for solid evenings of brilliant talk in the most cultivated society London has ever produced, but for journeys in post-chaises to visit his friends at Oxford and in Staffordshire. He loved motion, it dispelled his melan-

choly ; in his time of poverty he had tried to dispel it by herculean tasks of walking. Once he went with the Thrales to Paris (1775), which did not interest him at all ; the Thrales had intended to carry him to Italy next year, but their journey was prevented. Mrs. Thrale gradually deserted him in 1782-3, and married an Italian fiddler six months before her old friend's death. Johnson felt the loss acutely ; he suffered in his last years not only from increasing melancholia, but also from much bodily infirmity, including dropsy and kidney trouble ; his last journey to Oxford was in June, 1784, his last to Lichfield in November. The night before he died a comparatively new acquaintance, young William Windham, who, with Langton, Reynolds, Burke, and Fanny Burney, had been lavish of attentions during his last illness, found him calm, prayerful, and affectionate. He was buried on December 20 in Westminster Abbey.

This is not the place to dwell on the outward characteristics of a man like Johnson. Some of these have been reported unfavourably by a few enemies, and some exaggerated by false friends. He was rather deaf, very blind, and most uncouth, very untidy, and occasionally dirty ; but he could run, ride, climb trees, and, if necessary, fight with the best, no doubt in ludicrous, but ineffective, fashion. He could knock down an impertinent bookseller with a sixteenth-century folio. He could be very rude, and often, but not always, very sorry for it afterwards. He could, on the other hand, be extremely courteous, in the best and most old-fashioned sense of the word ; he ' looked upon himself as a very polite man '. He was thus both in person and character one of the most robust of Englishmen. He had the greatest contempt for ' sentimentality ', yet his enormous heart was brimming over with sympathy, tenderness, and humour. His religious feeling was innate, and independent of his reasoning faculty ; it was even allied to terror and superstition, and he had often great fear of death and the hereafter. His morality was of the loftiest order, and was closely allied to his fine taste ; nothing base in life, nothing mean or pinchbeck in literature, ever found favour with him. He loved to knock down idols of market-

places—what a drubbing he would be for giving to some of those of our own day ! He loved, honoured, and practised truth-telling before all things. And so he was by nature and throughout his life a very true gentleman who, like Matthew Henderson, ‘ had his patent of nobility direct from Almighty God.’

All this was compatible with very strong prejudices—prejudices which he often grappled to his soul, but which also he took a delight in waiving in favour of individuals. He loved to denounce the Scots, and he loved Boswell ; he loved to denounce demagogues and evil livers, and if he did not love Jack Wilkes he enjoyed his company ; he loved to pour scorn on Whigs and Whiggery, and Burke, Reynolds, and Windham were his dearest friends. Such inconsistencies are perhaps the most lovable things in a character all gnarled and rugged yet compact of solid English oak.

LAURENCE STERNE

(1713–1768)

humorist, was the great-grandson of a Royalist Archbishop of York, and the son of an officer in the 34th Regiment. His mother was the daughter of a ‘ sutler ’—i.e. agent of the canteen. Laurence was born while his father was quartered at Clonmel in Ireland, and followed the regiment to various quarters in England and Ireland till he went to school at Halifax, 1723–31. His father died in the latter year, leaving his mother almost penniless, and Laurence was helped by a cousin to go as a sizar to Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1733. He took his degree three years later, already burdened with debt and lung disease, was ordained in the same year, and in 1738 got a Yorkshire living, Sutton, and in 1741 a prebend of small value in York Minster. He married a lady with a very small fortune in 1741, added the adjoining living of Stillington to that of Sutton in 1743, and altogether was not badly off.



LAURENCE STERNE

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to the
Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchbrook



TOBIAS GEORGE SMOLLETT, M.D.

From the portrait by an Italian artist in the National Portrait Gallery

He did not exactly neglect his duties, but he did not take them seriously, and neither he nor his wife were popular with their parishioners. But he had friends in the neighbourhood, and was welcome wherever wit and loose talk was in vogue. Sterne was famous all his life for shirking his existing responsibilities, whether parochial, domestic, or financial, and for incurring new ones ; the only person who ever called forth any unselfish affection in him was his romping daughter, Lydia. Mrs. Sterne temporarily lost her reason in 1758, and had to go to an asylum, and it was then that Sterne began his immortal work of *Tristram Shandy*, flirting the while with any lady who took his fancy. He came to London in 1760 just after the publication of the first two volumes of the book, and had a great social success, but the indecency of his writing also met with much reprobation. If Gray admired him, and if the world of fashion ran after him, Johnson, who was only once in his company, had hardly bad enough words for his obscenity. Sterne got a better living, Coxwold, in the same year, and moved thither ; his wife was also better. He published Sermons, and continued to add to *Tristram*, which he finally finished in 1767. He went abroad for his health, 1762, and received an overwhelming welcome at Paris, spent a year at Toulouse with his wife and daughter, and another year at other places in the South of France, returning alone in 1764 to London, to Bath, to Yorkshire. Next year he travelled to Italy, and that journey was *The Sentimental Journey*. London claimed him again in 1767, and it was then that he started his last flirtation, with Mrs. Draper, to whom he wrote, in long sentimental letters, the *Journal to Eliza*, after her husband had recalled her to India. He began to write the *Sentimental Journey* on his return to Coxwold in the summer of 1767. His wife and daughter paid him a short visit that summer ; it was the last he saw of them ; he just lived to publish the *Journey*, and died in London in 1768.

If it is easy to define Sterne's ultimate niche in the temple of literary fame, there is no writer that will need so much to be forgiven him. The least of his sins was that of plagiarism ; he was as unscrupulous

in borrowing, without acknowledgement, ideas, scenes, and whole passages from earlier writers, French and English, as he was in other relations of life ; but he borrowed nothing which he did not improve and adorn. Others have since borrowed from him without improving or adorning their plagiarisms. If he has a peer in prose comedy it is Cervantes ; and to say that is to say that he is in the very first rank of the greatest immortals. No scene was too simple for him to describe, no canvas too rough for him to paint on. And when one thinks that he might have drawn his half-dozen great characters, painted his half-hundred perfect scenes, without defiling them, one is tempted to believe in the existence of malignant spirits. Two demons dwelt ever beside Sterne, and spattered his pages, sickly sentimentality (he may be said to have invented the word) and still more sickly obscenity. He took them to his bosom and hugged them, and made them part of himself. He was no hypocrite, and so he made no excuses for the presence of these demons ; nay, he treated the former as if it were a good angel. It is painful to reflect that Sterne's successful nursing of both these evil spirits was not without its effect upon a poet who adored Sterne's works, Robert Burns. When Sterne flashed upon the world in the first year of George III, literature and society were already beginning to turn their backs upon obscenity ; sentimentality, on the other hand, was but beginning its baleful career, and Sterne's use of this profoundly influenced both English and French literature until Dickens's natural talent for ' piling up the agony ' opened the eyes of educated men to the horror of it. Finally, the best and the worst that can be said for, and of, Sterne is that he had no character to start with, and never sought to build up one for himself. As the elder Mirabeau said of his son, '*il manquaît par les bases, par les mœurs.*'

Some of the best and purest of mankind have been among his most fervent admirers ; others, not more good and pure, have turned from him with loathing. A lady of excellent taste, being recently asked if she knew his works well, replied, ' I am sure my sons would not like me to read him.'

TOBIAS SMOLLETT

(1721-1771)

novelist, was the grandson of Sir James Smollett, a sturdy Whig lawyer and politician settled at Bonhill in the Lennox, who had sat in the Old Scots Parliament and had been one of the Commissioners to draw the Union. Sir James's youngest son, Archibald, a feeble creature who followed no profession, married Barbara Cuninghame, without his father's consent, and died soon after Tobias's birth; Sir James gave the widow a small house and a scanty provision in money. Tobias, the youngest of her children, was educated at Dumbarton School, and, being bound apprentice to a physician in Glasgow, was able to attend classes at the University during his service; undoubtedly he there acquired something beyond the rudiments of a good classical and literary education. At the age of eighteen he came to seek his fortunes in London with a tragedy on the death of James I in his pocket. His family connexions would help him, and it was probably through Sir Andrew Mitchell, with whom he counted kin, that he obtained a post as surgeon's mate on board one (but we do not for certain know which) of Vernon's ships in the expedition against Spanish America in 1741. He left the fleet in the West Indies and spent some time in Jamaica; it was probably there that he married Nancy Lascelles, the daughter of a planter; she had some fortune, most of which afterwards disappeared in law suits. We do not know any details of Smollett's life until his return to London in 1744; indeed we know little of the details of his life at any time.

He settled in Downing Street as a surgeon in 1744, and, in common with many people who were not Jacobites, lamented in fierce and outspoken language the cruelties exercised after Culloden. *Roderick Random*, his first successful literary venture, appeared in 1748, quickly followed by *Peregrine Pickle*, 1751, and *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 1753.

At this date Smollett was living in some style in a fine house at Chelsea, but was also frequently in pecuniary difficulties. His literary industry, however, was great, and he seems to have been on the whole well paid by the booksellers, e.g. for his translation of *Don Quixote*, 1755; his editorship of the *Critical Review*, from 1756; his *History of England* ('duller', in the opinion of Mr. Pitt Crawley, 'but not so dangerous as Hume's') in four volumes, from the earliest times to 1748, subsequently carried down to 1765; his *Compendium of Voyages* in seven volumes; his general editorship of a *Universal History*, 1758. All this represented an immense amount of honest drudgery, and perhaps accounted for the very slight part that a man of Smollett's wit and talent played in society. His personal popularity, if he can ever be said to have attained such among his contemporaries, was greater, when in 1759 he was fined and imprisoned for a libel in the *Critical Review* on Admiral Knowles, than at any other time. In 1760 we find him starting another *British Magazine*, and in 1762 he entered the political lists, on behalf of Bute, with *The Briton*, too soon and too effectively answered by Wilkes in the *North Briton*. Undeterred by this failure Smollett embarked on a translation of Voltaire's works, and on a still more ambitious task called *The Present State of All Nations*. The death of his only child in 1763 was a great blow to Smollett, who set forth upon a prolonged continental tour, of which he published in 1765 a shrewd, if sardonic, account in epistolary form. His health was bad during the last eight years of his life, and much of his railing at foreign ways must be attributed to that fact. He was received as a great literary celebrity in Edinburgh in 1766, published in 1769 a fierce and brutal satire called *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, left England for good at the end of that year, and wrote, in his last year, at Leghorn, where he died, his best and least Rabelaisian book, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, 1771.

In this book the novelist has left an often-quoted picture of himself and of his mode of life at Chelsea. Thackeray, who uses it in his *English Humorists*, makes too much of the supposed hardships in the

life of an eighteenth-century man of letters. Smollett had had his fair share of ups and downs, and seems consistently to have lived beyond his very considerable earnings, but of real hardships he probably knew little after he left the Navy in 1742. It is to the fortunate circumstance, that he saw and described sea life and sea-going characters at the date at which the service was at its nadir, that he owes his great place in our literature. Mr. Hannay has well pointed out that he and Marryat alone have described sailors on active service *ab intra*. It is certainly an appalling picture of men and manners that Smollett has drawn for us in *Roderick Random*, yet its faithfulness has not been very much disputed. The author was not, like Fielding, a great creator or a great delineator of humanity at large; he is rather a caricaturist of great power and ruthlessness; probably each of his characters had some definite original, from which it was reproduced. Only in *Humphry Clinker* was he 'touched to humanity' in the better sense of the words, and *Humphry* undoubtedly owes much to Fielding and much to Sterne. *Roderick* and *Peregrine* avowedly owe more to Le Sage and to the Spanish 'picaresque' school, but they are drawn with a fiercer hand than that of the author of *Gil Blas*, and they leave us with the impression that the Englishmen of the early days of George II were a fierce and rather brutal people.

HENRY FOX

FIRST BARON HOLLAND

(1705-1774)

politician, son of Sir Stephen Fox, the able steward of Charles II, was at Eton with his rival Pitt ; he spent his early manhood in reckless gambling, and entered Parliament as a Walpolean in 1735. He was a Lord of the Treasury in 1743, and held office under Pelham as Secretary-at-War. He knew as little of war as many others who held that office, but already he knew much about Parliaments, places, and jobbery ; and Pelham and Newcastle would have found him a useful ally if his fidelity could have been trusted. It was as an adherent of this Ministry that Fox began his long duel with the elder Pitt. Disappointed of reward by Newcastle in 1754 he leagued with Pitt to oppose Newcastle's creature Robinson, but soon let the Duke know that he had his price, and 'ratted' again, to become leader in the Lower House. When Newcastle for his part and the King for his were at last obliged to give in to Pitt's terms and to fight the Seven Years' War at Pitt's back, Fox was bribed, with the lucrative office of Paymaster, to adhere to them. He had few scruples and no objections to perquisites. To keep these, when Pitt and Newcastle were driven from office by Bute in 1761-2, Fox became Bute's tool, and bribed a path through Parliament for the Peace of Paris. It seems to have been this last turning of his coat that drew such a storm of hatred upon him. But he kept the Pay Office till 1765 ; he had got his peerage two years before. It was, according to the latest disclosures of State papers, by his advice that George III, about 1767, began seriously to govern by 'influence', and to purchase a party of King's friends in the Houses ; and it was perhaps in return for this advice that an action in the Court of Exchequer, which had been commenced against Fox for peculation in the



DAVID GARRICK

From the portrait by Robert Edge Pine in the National Portrait Gallery



HENRY FOX, FIRST BARON HOLLAND

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to the Earl of Ilchester at Holland House

Pay Office, was stayed (1769). But this advice was given privately, and after 1765 Fox took no open part in politics. He had made a vast fortune by means which at that date may just have been within the law, but which his rival's son, the younger Pitt, was to put for ever outside it. Fox's temper was easy and placable, his political morals cynical or non-existent. He was an admirable debater, and perfectly fearless of threats either received or given. He was devoted to his wife, Lady Caroline Lennox (a descendant of Charles II), with whom he had run away in 1744, and to his children, especially to Charles James, whom he spoiled outrageously. An ingenious, but not wholly successful, attempt to say something good for Lord Holland has quite recently been made by Mr. Riker.

DAVID GARRICK

(1717-1779)

actor, was born at Hereford, the grandson of a French Huguenot refugee and the son of an officer in the Army. His mother was a Miss Clough, of Lichfield, daughter of a clergyman, and had Irish blood in her veins. This mixture was no bad ancestry for one who was to be the greatest actor Britain ever saw. Garrick was nearly Johnson's contemporary in years, and, being sent to school at Lichfield, became his friend, and for a time his pupil. They made their journey to London together in 1737, where Johnson had been once before to be touched for 'the evil' by Queen Anne. They remained, it is pleasant to believe, true friends, though Johnson's outspokenness was sometimes hard for 'Davy' to bear. When Boswell spoke of Garrick 'assuming the airs of a great man', Johnson denied it: 'it is wonderful how little he assumes—*fortunam reverenter habet*;' and he went on to speak of his temptation by the applause of the world which accompanied him everywhere, and how little he was spoiled by it; 'he has made a player

a higher character ' ; of his liberality, ' he has given away more money than any man in England : there may be a little vanity mixed ' , &c. Such we may take to be the great moralist's real opinion of his old friend. But it was tempered occasionally by a certain contempt for, or mistrust of, the theatrical profession, about which we must remember Johnson knew much ; and he refused to mention Garrick's name in the preface to his *Shakespeare* as ' one who had brought Shakespeare into notice ' . In short, as Boswell said, Johnson would allow no one to attack Garrick but himself.

Somewhere about 1740-1 Garrick, after trying to be a wine-merchant, found his natural vocation, being then already enamoured of Peg Woffington. His first known appearance on the stage was in London in March, his first Shakespearian character (Richard III) in October, 1741. His success was immediate, and quite *hors de ligne*. It is impossible here to enumerate his parts, or to follow his successes in detail. He had his full share of the rivalries and heartburnings which seem to be inseparable from his profession, and at first some financial ill luck. Once he initiated a ' strike ' of actors and tried in vain to set up a rival theatre ; the strike collapsed, and the victim was not Garrick but his rival Macklin. Drury Lane was a stormy place in those days ; Horace Walpole tells us how once the manager packed his pit with pugilists, with instructions to silence opposition howls. Garrick took a half share in the famous theatre in 1747, and kept the management for the remaining thirty years of his career. There was a bad riot in 1755 and another in 1763, and after the latter Garrick took leave of the stage for a time and paid a visit with his wife to Paris, where the *grand monde* and the *Comédie-Française* alike received them with enthusiasm. The Garricks went on to Italy, and everywhere it was the same story of welcome. Garrick reappeared on the London stage in 1765 ; his reception was greater than ever, and his popularity continued almost unabated till his final retirement in 1776. The whole of the town, literary and aristocratic, followed him to his grave in the Abbey ; he was the first player to be laid there and should have been

the last. His passionately loved and charming wife, who had been on the stage, survived him by forty-three years, and died at the age of ninety-eight in 1822.

How much soever Johnson's objection to coupling the names of Garrick and the poet whom he interpreted may have been right, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that to Garrick's genius an increasing study of Shakespeare was due. To many plays, though not to all which he staged, he restored the pre-Davenantian text, which had been abandoned since the Restoration. Many, however, of his most admired parts were taken in what Lamb called 'the drawling tragedies that his wretched days produced'; and he did not disdain comedy, romance, or even farce. He wrote some plays for his own theatre, and adapted many more; and he was an admirable hand at a prologue or an epilogue, with a pretty turn for verse. His faults were largely on the surface—some vanity, some love of lords, occasional peevishness. By such men as his rival Foote every weak point in his armour was unceasingly pierced, every foible was magnified, and his innumerable virtues were steadily ignored.

DAVID HUME

(1711-1776)

philosopher and historian, was the younger son of a small Berwickshire laird, Joseph Hume, and of Catherine Falconer, whose father had been Lord President. His father died young, and David, after studying at the University of Edinburgh and turning aside from the legal career for which he was destined, 'determined to become a philosopher', and began an extensive course of reading. Little is really known of him until his three years of study in France, 1734-7, during which he wrote his *Treatise of Human Nature*; this appeared in print in 1739-40. His *Essays, Moral and Political*, 1741-2, were somewhat better received,

and attracted more attention than the *Treatise*, but the freedom of the opinions concerning revealed religion therein expressed acted as a bar to any preferment for their author. After a short residence in England as tutor to a half-insane nobleman, 1745-6, Hume acted as Secretary and Judge-Advocate to General Sinclair in the expedition against L'Orient, travelled to Germany, Austria, and Piedmont in Sinclair's suite, and late in 1748 was back at his Berwickshire home. He then published, partly as an altered text of his 'Treatise', *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, and, in rapid succession, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), and *Political Discourses* (1752); five years later appeared his *Four Dissertations*. Several of the Essays in these works had been written at earlier dates, but held back, on the advice of friends, in view of their sceptical tendencies. One cannot say that Hume was a coward or that he was unwilling to shock tender consciences, still less that he was uncertain of his own ground; but there was in him, together with a strong and yearly growing prejudice of his own, a great deal of good-natured deference to the prejudices of other people. Also he was really anxious to secure some sort of professorship, and premature publication of such writings as the famous *Essay on Miracles* or the *Natural History of Religion* would have damaged this prospect. Hume was, in fact, about a quarter of a century ahead of the thought of his age in England, and perhaps ten years ahead of it in France; and it was in France that his speculative opinions made quicker way and had larger influence than in England.

Hume settled in Edinburgh in 1751, and became Librarian at the Advocates' Library next year; it was this appointment that drew him definitely to the study of History, for which from this time onward he practically abandoned philosophy. Of the reception of the first volume of his *History of England*, 1754, he says in his autobiography, 'I scarcely indeed heard of one man in the three kingdoms considerable for rank or letters that could endure the book.' Yet the rewards of divination in those days were out of all proportion to what they are to-day; for



DAVID HUME

[From the portrait by Allan Ramsay in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery

this 'unendurable' first volume Hume received £400 and for the second £700, and when the remainder of the eight volumes had appeared in 1763 he became a comparatively wealthy man. The opinions expressed in the book brought him some favour from Bute, and would have brought him more, but for the rigidly orthodox views of George III. Hume, however, became secretary to Lord Hertford, who went Ambassador to France after the Peace of Paris, and obtained from the gay infidel society of the French capital a reception out of all proportion to that accorded to his good-natured chief, Lord Hertford. All the *philosophes* and their pretty ladies threw themselves at David Hume's feet, and adored his bad French, his good humour, and his *naïveté*. When Hertford left Paris he left his secretary (a somewhat amateur statesman) as *chargé d'affaires*. When Hume came home in 1766 he brought Rousseau, who was roaming about Europe with a mistress and a craving for persecution, to a 'refuge' in England; it is strange that such a shrewd man as Hume should not have seen through this vapid impostor, and it is among the little ironies of history that Hume should have procured for Rousseau a secret pension from George III. Before many months were out he had been requited by Rousseau with the blackest ingratitude, for which he bore no malice at all. Hume himself had now a good pension from the Government as well as the profits of his *History*; his philosophical works were also selling well. After acting as Under-Secretary of State to Marshal Conway for a year, 1767-8, the historian settled for good in Edinburgh, gave himself up to the pleasures of the literary society of that city, and met his death with philosophic calmness and good humour in 1776. To his friend Adam Smith he bequeathed the power of dealing with his written works after his death.

One would have expected Johnson to be torn in two on the subject of Hume, the Toryism of the *History* to be allowed to counterbalance in his mind the scepticism of the philosophical works. But such was not the case; Samuel rejected this David, in spite of Boswell's friendship for him, from the least inheritance in the Israel of letters. In 1773

he said, ' I have not read Hume ' ; but two years later he admitted that he liked him (*i. e.* his *History*) better than Robertson, though ' neither of them would he allow to be more to Clarendón than a rat to a cat '. He would not even admit that Hume was a proper Tory : ' Sir, he is Tory by chance, as being a Scotchman ; but not upon a principle of duty, for he has no principle.' Hume in his turn had no good words for Johnson ; indeed, he regarded the English as a barbarous people, and spoke of the *Dictionary* with scorn.

Hume's Toryism, indeed, increased as he grew old ; in his *Autobiography* he says that all the alterations he made in his *History* were made invariably to the Tory side : when he began to write he had been ' too much infected with the plaguey principles of Whiggism '. Yet, most strangely, he was a pro-American in the struggle of which he lived to see the beginning ; and he was shrewd enough to foretell both that the Americans would win, and that ' our navigation and commerce would suffer more than our manufactures '. Alexander Carlyle gives a delightful picture of Hume in private life, as being ' of great knowledge, of a social and benevolent temper, and truly the best-natured man in the world, . . . fond of the company of the younger clergy and yet never attempting to overturn any man's principles '. Perhaps Mr. Hume's ' elegant dinners and suppers and the best claret which he furnished ' had something to do with Carlyle's opinion.

JOHN WESLEY

(1703-1791)

founder of Methodism, was one of the youngest of the nineteen children of Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire, and of Susannah Annesley. There was remarkable ability, ancient descent, and a strong theological bias on both sides. The father's father and grandfather had both been 'ejected ministers' of 1662. The mother was a daughter of a distinguished Nonconformist, and had been herself a Socinian; she was an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, and taught their rudiments to the few of her children who survived infancy. If not actually a non-juror, she had strong leanings in that direction. John was educated at the Charterhouse and at Christ Church, and became an excellent scholar and theologian. He was ordained deacon in 1725, and elected a Fellow of Lincoln College in the next year. The first powerful influence that was brought to bear upon him was that of William Law, the non-juror and mystic, and it was about the date of his introduction to Law that he first grasped the idea of a 'world sunk in sin'. The remedy which he then thought good was an excessive devotion to the sacraments and fasts of the Church; even after he had broken completely with ceremonial and with the mystics there remained in him much of the temper of the High Churchmen, some of the theology of mysticism. An association of a few undergraduates was founded by John and his brother Charles in 1729 or 1730, at first for serious classical study, soon afterwards for prayer, for visiting the sick and the prisoners in gaol, and for weekly communion; this association earned the nickname (no new one, for it had been applied to a Puritan sect in 1657 or earlier) of 'Methodists', or the 'Holy Club'. The little band of brothers had the direct sanction and approbation of the Bishop of Oxford. In 1735 John and Charles embarked upon a missionary expedition to Georgia; on the voyage and in the infant colony

they came under the influence of the Moravian Brethren. John was two years in Georgia, but got into some trouble with the magistrates, perhaps owing to his own indiscretion and to his lofty view of his spiritual duties and privileges. He had throughout life the autocratic temper of a mediaeval Pope, and never hesitated to excommunicate those who differed from him ; but he was also perfectly ready to forgive and to receive back into the fold any one who would bow to his will. Shortly after his return to England in 1738 he met the German, Peter Böhler, who said to him, ' My brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away,' and recommended him to ' preach faith till you have it, and then, because you have it, you *will* preach faith '. This was the real date of Wesley's ' conversion ', the true birthday of the doctrine, as complementary to the practice, of Methodism. ' Believe and thou shalt be saved ' was the one message which Wesley had to give, and his glory is that he gave it to the very ignorant, the very sinful, the very wretched. With this message he travelled, during the remaining half-century of his life, in the United Kingdom distances variously computed at 100,000 miles and 250,000 miles. Even if we accept the lower and more probable figure, it is an average of 2,000 miles a year. The sermons he preached on these journeys are said to have averaged five a day. All his journeys were performed on horseback until his very last years, and he frequently read a book as he rode. In his earlier years he sometimes met with an awkward reception from the rude mob, and was occasionally pelted with mud and stones ; but with the saintly character of an evangelist he combined much common sense, and was often well pleased when a magistrate committed the rioters to gaol, obviously the right place for them. Long before his death all open opposition to his preaching had ceased, and his progresses were a series of triumphs. It is however to be noticed that he preferred town congregations to country ones, and somewhat despised the country people. It is in towns that Methodism has flourished most. His journal, not intended to be humorous, is full of delightful sketches of the road, abounding in pithy characterizations of persons and places, and



JOHN WESLEY

From the portrait by George Romney in the possession of the late W. R. Cassels, Esq.

illuminated by the most perfect missionary zeal and love for his flocks and his cause ; it is also entirely void of the quality of unctuousness, which is so manifest in the writings of some of his followers, especially in those of Whitefield. Wesley, if his taste was not always perfect in his relations with his converts, was always the scholar and the gentleman, and owed much to his own dignity and social prestige. If nothing had remained of Methodism but this priceless *Journal*, it would still be, with Boswell's *Johnson* and Walpole's *Letters*, one of the three classic pictures of English life in the eighteenth century ; and naturally its scenes are laid in strata of life with which neither of its rivals deals.

At first Wesley's idea was to preach only in churches ; it was Whitefield, not he, who began open-air preaching. His own first open-air sermon was at Bristol in 1739 ; to the same year and place belongs the opening of the first Methodist Chapel. Bristol was his first field of success, the first place also where Wesley came athwart the authority of the Church, in the person of no less a bishop than Butler. It is remarkable how ready Wesley was to break off from persons or congregations that disagreed with his views ; for ' continuity ' he had the contempt of an inspired prophet. He successively severed himself from the Moravians and the Calvinistic Methodists, from Zinzendorf, Whitefield, and Toplady. The one thing to which he clung, even after he had openly defied its laws, was some nominal membership of the Church of England. But one step led on to another, open-air preaching to itinerant preaching, to lay preaching, and finally to lay ordination. Organization in bands and ' classes ' followed as a matter of course, and ' class-leaders ' came into existence to hold weekly visitations and to inquire into the spiritual condition of their classes—a dangerous duty liable to much misuse. By and by a yearly ' Conference ' (occasionally a stormy meeting) grew up, and circuits were organized with the principle of frequent interchange of preachers. Another example of Wesley's power and astonishing industry was the continuous stream of cheap books, compiled and abridged from ' standard ' authors, that he poured out. The sale of these defrayed the expenses of his journeys

and enabled him to give away very large sums in charity ; he was always the educator as well as the evangelist. Long he hesitated and hung back before taking the irrevocable step of ordaining ministers in 1784 ; when he took it, against the wish of his brother Charles, it was for the Methodist congregations in America that he ' laid hands ' on two men. Soon he ordained a few for the United Kingdom also. There is not wanting evidence that before his death he repented to some extent of this open act of schism. From the older Dissenting communities he always kept aloof, though he was not on unfriendly terms with them ; and it is obvious how close his own theological position lay to the growing Evangelical school within the pale of the Church. His last letter was written to Wilberforce. He died at the Chapel-house adjoining the City Road Chapel in London in his eighty-eighth year.

He was, with all his learning and all his piety, an extremely credulous man, the last educated believer in witchcraft, the last, one hopes, to use *sortes biblicae* and other ordeals of a like nature to determine his course of action. As he was perfectly conscious of his own rectitude he allowed himself at times a dangerous latitude in his dealings with his female converts. This excited the wrath of his wife, a widow of humble origin with a small fortune from her former husband ; he had married her in 1750, and, after many disagreements and much jealousy, she left him finally in 1776. His notions on the education of children, perhaps derived from his own stern mother, would have been merely ludicrous in their cruelty, if they had not also been productive of much mischief among his followers ; his idea was that you cannot begin too early to whip a child, and that you must break its will by the rod before it can speak plain. He made no provision at all for play or play-hours in his schools. It is infinitely to Wesley's credit that he was no politician ; although he had every temptation to play the democrat, and especially in regard to the Colonies, which had received his doctrines with warm welcome, he, like other reasonable Englishmen of his time, regarded the Americans of 1776 as rebels, and was strongly in favour of

coercion. Nothing was further from his thoughts than to excite class hatreds ; although his preaching appealed most, and was most directed to the lower and lower-middle classes, he would have been horrified at the idea that any political hatred of his mother Church could be the result of his message of salvation.

ISAAC WATTS

(1674-1748)

was the grandson of one of Blake's sea-captains, and the son of a Nonconformist clothier and preacher, who was persecuted in a mild fashion before the Revolution, and became a prosperous schoolmaster after it. Isaac was at school at his native Southampton, and then at an Independent College at Stoke Newington ; he studied for the Dissenting ministry, and early began to write hymns. He got a chapel in the City in the last year of the seventeenth century, and, being in frail health, was taken in 1712 to reside in the house of a rich member of his congregation who had been Lord Mayor of London ; whenever his health permitted him, he attended to his congregational duties, meanwhile enjoying every comfort in the house of his kind friends in his peaceful middle life and old age. Watts wrote many books for the young, and his hymns, which had a great success and sale in his lifetime, were the foundation and inspiration of the outburst of spiritual song which accompanied Methodism and Evangelicalism. Doctrinally Watts was, or became, a sort of Arian, almost a Unitarian. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Edinburgh in 1728.

Johnson, who did not love Dissenting clergy, specially desired the inclusion among the *Lives of the Poets* of Watts, ' a man who never wrote but for a good purpose ' ; but the ' Life ' is almost the shortest in the book, the criticism is perfunctory, and praise of the poetry is

conspicuous by its absence. Cowper, though he admired Johnson's reticence on the subject, yet held Watts to be 'a man of true poetic ability'. And surely no one can deny that quality to the author of 'When I survey the wond'rous Cross', 'Our God, our help in ages past', and 'There is a land of pure delight'. It used to be a tradition that Watts's congregation sang this last hymn to the tune of 'Drink to me only with thine eyes'.

CHARLES WESLEY

(1707-1788)

Methodist preacher and younger brother of the more famous John, was son of Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire, and Susanna or Anna Annesley, daughter of an ejected Nonconformist minister of 1662. He was of old Puritan family upon each side, was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and became an excellent scholar, though he lacked the theological training of his brother John. He was ordained in 1735, and accompanied John to Georgia at the end of that year. He returned in the next year, and, after holding a curacy at Islington, became a regular itinerant preacher. From 1740 till 1771 his home was at Bristol; in the latter year he moved to London, and, during the last ten years of his life, preached mainly at a chapel in the City Road. He was essentially the 'moderate' of the three great Methodist founders; he disliked lay preaching and ecstatic symptoms of conversion; above all he was bitterly grieved when in 1784 John definitely severed himself from the Church and began to ordain ministers on his own account. Of far less intellectual power than John, he was at the same time less credulous, less buoyant, more simple-minded. To later generations his enduring reputation is that of writer of some of our most beautiful hymns. The very name of Methodism as a sect may one day be forgotten, but Englishmen are not likely to let die the



ISAAC WATTS, D.D.

From the portrait after Sir Godfrey Kneller (?) in the
National Portrait Gallery



REV. CHARLES WESLEY, M.A.

From the portrait by J. Russell belonging to
Wesleyan Conference at the Centenary Hall



THOMAS WARTON

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
at Trinity College, Oxford



JAMES BOSWELL

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
in the National Gallery

exquisite lines of ' Lo ! He comes in clouds descending ', ' Hark ! the herald-angels sing ', ' Let saints on earth in concert sing ', ' Jesu, lover of my soul ', ' Shepherd Divine, our wants relieve ', ' Soldiers of Christ, arise ', and many more. The correct text of some of these hymns has been recently restored in the new *Oxford Hymn Book* (1908).

Charles married in 1749 a Welsh lady, Sarah Gwynne, who used her beautiful voice to assist in his religious services, and left two sons, Charles and Samuel, who made their fame as musicians, organists, and composers ; Samuel outraged the traditions of his family by joining the Roman Catholic Church in 1784, but afterwards abandoned that faith.

THOMAS WARTON

(1728-1790)

son of Thomas Warton, Vicar of Basingstoke, and Elizabeth Richardson, came of a family of some literary distinction. His father had been a Fellow of Magdalen and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford ; his brother Joseph had some pretensions as a poet, more as a literary critic, and was for nearly forty years Head Master of Winchester. Thomas himself began to write verses at an early age, went from the Grammar School at Basingstoke to Trinity College, Oxford, of which he remained all his life Fellow and Tutor, devoted himself to the study of Mediaeval and Renaissance English poetry, became (as it were by inheritance) Professor of Poetry (1758-1768), edited Theocritus, and began the first great literary and critical *History of English Poetry*. This he lived to carry down, in three volumes, only to the close of the Elizabethan age ; some portion of a fourth volume was written, but he had turned from the task in his later years, being named in 1785 Camden Professor of Ancient History as well as Poet Laureate. His last literary work was a very valuable edition of Milton's earlier poems.

Thomas Warton, 'a little, thick, squat, red-faced man', and his brother Joseph were remarkable products of the Oxford of their day; to some extent both headed the revolt against the 'correctness' of the eighteenth-century school. Thomas's *History of Poetry* is a true herald of the dawn of Romanticism. It is also a mine of learning, because it traces the original sources from which the English poets, from Chaucer to Spenser, derived their materials; the author's very wide knowledge of the classics and of foreign writers was pressed into the service of English literature. Both the brothers were members of 'The Club', and both were friends—with temporary interruptions of friendship—of Johnson and of his circle. Boswell in his preface acknowledges his obligations to Thomas, and herein refers especially to the delightful account which Warton gave him of Johnson's visit to Oxford in 1754, and of their walks in the country together. In 1776 Johnson, this time with Boswell in his company, again visited Warton at Trinity. Warton, who had been Langton's tutor, had also contributed to *The Idler*, and had sent Johnson notes for his *Shakespeare*. 'I love the fellow dearly for all I laugh at him' was Johnson's pronouncement, when ridiculing some of Warton's verses. There was a robust contempt of conventions in both brothers Warton; Thomas in particular delighted to smoke and drink with the Oxford bargemen, yet never lost his status in the Trinity Common-room; he had a passion for 'sights' and crowds, especially for the sight and sound of soldiers on the march, and he used to go to see executions in the disguise of a carter. He had the true feeling for the pleasant country round Oxford, and wrote poems of some merit on both its rivers, although of course he miscalled the Thames the 'Isis'. He had also a passion for Gothic architecture, and loved to muse among ruins.

JAMES BOSWELL

(1740-1795)

biographer, was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck, a Scottish judge and a stout Whig, and of Euphemia Erskine. He was educated at the High School and the University of Edinburgh, attended Civil Law classes at Glasgow and Utrecht, but could with difficulty be induced to read seriously for the Scottish Bar, to which he was not called till 1766; his practice thereat was never extensive. He married his cousin, Margaret Montgomerie, in 1769, and had five children by her. In 1775 he entered his name as a student at the Temple, and was called to the English Bar in 1786, obtaining the Recordship of Carlisle, through the Lowther interest, in 1788. His father died in 1782, and he succeeded to the Ayrshire estates of Auchinleck, which had been in their family since James IV. He lived little there, and, after his wife's death, settled permanently in London. In 1791 the friendship of Reynolds procured him the post of Secretary for Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy. He died in London in 1795.

Such are the facts in the life of a man who wrote the best biography ever written in any language. Boswell was not a scholar, nor a man of wide reading, nor a man of lofty character; he drank too much wine, he loved pleasure and gaiety; his vanity was ridiculous and patent to all; he was extravagant and constantly in debt, and he displayed a good deal of fretful discontent in the comparative adversity of his later years. But he possessed a faculty of winning the hearts of all men great or small into whose society he thrust himself; and he thrust himself into most societies with little ceremony, for he had the craving for human company and the art of being at home in it. Far more excellent than this was his supreme gift of recording what he saw and heard, and for dressing up his recollections with dramatic skill,

yet never for a moment overstepping the modesty of nature or deviating from the substantial truth. He was alike master of details and of the broad presentment of a situation. It was said of a great English poet that he could not distinguish between a gem and a pebble ; Boswell in his prose could not only do this, but he could turn pebbles into gems with a magic wand. His desultory education or self-education fitted him admirably for the part he set himself to play ; he had been petted by Hume and had listened to Adam Smith before his first visit to England in 1760. Except in his family pride, he was as unlike a Scot as any one could be. London, and not the London of the rakes (though it is quite likely he was a bit of a rake), but the London of the wits, gripped him body and soul ; and he revelled in the idea of becoming a man of letters, although his own *juvenilia* in prose and verse had given little promise of what was to come. Meanwhile, on every opportunity, by spending more than his scanty allowance, by neglecting his law studies and incurring his father's wrath, in season and out of season, James Boswell would be in the best company of famous people he could find ; and in that company he possessed to the full the art of drawing people out—often at his own expense, an accident which, happily, never abashed him. His light-sailing but persistent pinnace made several attempts at coming aboard the most majestic three-decker in the fleet of literature before the famous meeting in Tom Davis's shop in May 1763 ; Boswell was then twenty-two, Johnson was fifty-four. With an artist's eye the young man saw his opportunity ; with a lover's heart he fastened himself to Johnson, who, in all seriousness, took the boy to his bosom. Boswell constantly showed faults of taste of which Langton, Beauclerk, and Windham were incapable, but Johnson could pardon all, for he loved youth and ardour as much as wisdom and experience ; and he was never sparing of good advice, which ' Bozzy ' often followed and never took amiss. While those three other young men loved Johnson as he deserved to be loved, and while two of them were in character far above Boswell, Boswell alone gave his whole heart and neglected everything to give it. It was Johnson who at once made him set off

for Utrecht, from which place, unable to stick to his law-books, he travelled to Berlin, to Paris, to Geneva, and finally to Italy and Corsica. He visited Voltaire and Rousseau, and imagined that he was doing the grand tour 'in style'. He met Wilkes in Italy; Rousseau gave him his introduction to Paoli, and he played to the gallery of Corsican patriots and brigands, delighted to be mistaken for an English ambassador coming to promise aid to 'Liberty in distress'. He returned to England in 1766, with his head full of Corsica, and published, as an appendix to a very dull history of that singular island, the most charming journal of his tour, which fascinated Johnson at once. This experience procured him an introduction to Chatham, who was very civil to him. These events and his marriage in 1769 delayed the commencement of his close intercourse with Johnson, which dates only from 1772. But the journey to the Hebrides, which occupied the autumn of 1773, knitted the friendship of the old to the young man indissolubly, and Boswell had already been elected, though not without opposition, a member of 'The Club' in April 1773. In three of the last twelve years of Johnson's life Boswell was, for one reason or another, unable to come to England, but a constant correspondence was kept up between the friends. Boswell was in Scotland at the date of his hero's death; their last farewell had been said at the entrance to Bolt Court on the evening of June 30, 1784; they had dined alone with Reynolds, and Boswell saw the old man to his house but declined to come in 'from an apprehension that his spirits would sink'.

The first instalment of the biography was the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, which came out in 1786. Over the *magnum opus*, the *Life*, Boswell was not going to be hurried, and it did not appear until Mrs. Piozzi and Hawkins had respectively published *Anecdotes* and *Life* of Johnson; other sketches had also appeared. In 1791, in two quarto volumes, at the price of two guineas, Boswell's *Life* achieved an immediate success, and the author was already at work upon the third edition when he died four years afterwards. He had no illusions about his own work; he knew it was not only going to be the best life of his

hero, but immortal for its own sake. It was dedicated to Reynolds with full consciousness that, as an artist, he was Reynolds's peer.

It is probable that any good judge of English literature, if condemned to solitary confinement for life with a single book, would select Dr. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. 'No book so rich in opportunities for error', says Sir Walter Raleigh, 'has ever come through a century of minute criticism with so little damage to its reputation.' It must not be forgotten that, as its title implies, it is not only a life of Johnson, but is intended to 'exhibit a view of literature and literary men in Great Britain' for the half-century during which Johnson flourished. The whole is a great canvas full of innumerable lesser figures, put in with a master-hand, with the 'Great Cham' in the centre, and so wholly in the centre as to dwarf, and intentionally, all the rest.

ROBERT CLIVE

BARON CLIVE

(1725-1774)

soldier and statesman, was the son of a small Shropshire landowner of very ancient family, and had little regular education. He was sent to three successive schools, and at them was mainly distinguished by turbulence, daring, and good temper. In 1743 he was shipped off to India to sink or swim as a 'writer', i.e. clerk, in the Madras Presidency of the East India Company. He hated the desk work, had no friends on his arrival, and at first made few; there are stories that he contemplated, and even attempted, suicide, for the climate affected him more than most people, and it is no small addition to his fame that he was hardly ever well in India.

The War of the Austrian Succession was just breaking out when



ROBERT, BARON CLIVE

From the portrait by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the possession of the Earl of Powis

Clive reached his destination, but the French were obliged to wait till 1747 before they could pounce upon Madras, which they then took without difficulty. Clive and his future brother-in-law, Maskelyne, escaped—when the terms granted to the English were violated by Dupleix—to Fort St. David, which place Clive then helped, still as a mere civilian, to defend against a French siege. It was there that he first met Major Stringer Lawrence. In 1748 an English fleet arrived on the coast, and Lawrence turned the tables on the French and besieged Pondichéry; Clive served him as an ensign and did much good work. The news of the Peace came in 1749, and Clive had to return to the uncongenial task of keeping mercantile accounts. But not for long; he next got military employment under Lawrence in an auxiliary force sent to one of the rivals for the Mahratta Principality of Tanjore, and again distinguished himself by extraordinary daring, amounting, in the opinion of some critics, to foolhardiness.

France had not been concerned in this last matter, but Lawrence (whose claim to be considered one of the true founders of our Indian Empire even the fame of Clive must not be allowed to obscure) thoroughly grasped the principle that the British Company ought for its own interest to send aid to native princes who asked it. So when the French Company nursed a candidate for a throne at Arcot or at Hyderabad, it behoved us to nurse a rival if possible. Clive's great opportunity therefore came in 1751, when the office of Nabob of the Carnatic was in dispute. Our own candidate was far away in the South, six hundred white men and most of our Sepoys were being besieged at Trichinopoly, when Clive, with 200 British and 300 Sepoys, seized the fort of Arcot, seventy miles inland from Madras, defended it for two starving months against enormous odds, and inflicted a severe defeat on his besiegers as they retreated; this enabled Lawrence to relieve Trichinopoly in 1752. The fortune of war was not always favourable to the British in these years, but wherever Clive appeared, as at Conjeveram, Coveripauk, Covelong, and Chingleput, he displayed skilful strategy and successful daring. But he was very ill when he sailed for his first leave

to England early in 1753, having married Miss Maskelyne before sailing. He was very well received in England, but spent most of his large earnings of prize-money in contesting a seat in Parliament, and, after being unseated on a petition, returned to India to earn more.

He had now the substantive rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was made Governor of Fort St. David with the reversion of the Governorship of Madras. The Seven Years' War was just about to begin all over the world ; in India, as we have seen, the years of nominal peace had been anything but peaceful. The great French governor Dupleix had gone home, and our candidate had been established as Nabob of the Carnatic. French influence was, however, strong in Hyderabad, and also in the Northern Sirkars, the district which lay between the spheres of Madras and Bengal. Clive had determined to deal first with this latter region when the news of the seizure of Calcutta by Suraja Dowla and the tragedy of the Black Hole called him to Bengal. His deeds there are almost too well known to need recapitulation : his seizure of Budge-Budge, his recapture of Calcutta and Hooghly, his driving off of Suraja's forty thousand men by a few cannon shot at the end of 1756. Then came his capture of Chandernagore from the French, and, when he learned, early in 1757, that war had been declared in Europe, his substitution of Meer Jaffier for Suraja Dowla on the Nabob's throne at Moorshedabad. This last involved the famous ' false treaty ' with a rascally banker called Omichund, which has left a stain upon Clive's fame. There was nothing particularly immoral in paying a black-mailer back in his own coin (although perhaps it would have been better to hang him), but it was bad policy, for it was *Punica fides*, and if repeated such things would have lowered British character in native eyes. Clive's receipt of large gifts of money from his new Nabob was also not immoral, but it was against tradition, and was bad policy. For the time all this was atoned for by Clive's astonishing daring in facing and overcoming odds of twenty to one in the wonderful battle of Plassey, near Moorshedabad, in June 1757. Clive rebuilt Fort William at Calcutta in 1758, sent Forde to drive the French out of the

Northern Sirkars, subdued Meer Jaffier's rebellious province of Behar for him, winked, very wisely, at his *protégé's* feeble attempt at treachery with the Dutch, took the Dutch East India fleet and their settlement of Chinsurah, regardless of the fact that Great Britain was not at war with Holland—regardless also of the fact that his own great private fortune had just been sent home in a Dutch ship; and, having by these means established Britain as the supreme power in Bengal, sailed home early in 1760. He received an Irish peerage, won a seat in the House of Commons, had the thanks of King and Parliament, and great honours from the Directors of the Company, to whom nevertheless he had spoken his mind in the plainest language on the incapacity and corruption of their administration. There can be little doubt that his own wish was to anticipate the settlement of 1858, and to place the newly acquired Empire under the protection of the Crown. Certainly he wished that there should be one Governor-General supreme over the three Presidencies, and that Bengal should be the seat of his government.

In parliamentary politics Clive took little part, but, during his four years at home, devoted himself to plans for the good government of India. After a long contest with Mr. Sullivan, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, he was victorious, and returned to Bengal as Governor, landing at Calcutta in May 1765. He had a very severe task before him, for not only had the past four years been fruitful of rapacity and plunder on the part of the Company's servants (men often of poor education and miserable wages, and now finding themselves in uncontrolled power in the richest country in the world), but the political situation had also changed for the worse. The weak Jaffier had been deposed, and a falser knave called Meer Kossim put in his place; this fellow had massacred a British garrison at Patna, he had concluded treaties with Oude and with the Mogul against us; there had even been mutinies in the Bengal army. Adams and Hector Munro had indeed just got the better of this bad business before Clive arrived, and the first task of the new Governor was to obtain from the Mogul the legal

concession of the 'dewanee', i.e. right to collect revenue in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This was to make the Company not only practical, but also legal sovereign in these provinces.

In the next twenty months Clive made a heroic and successful attempt to deal with the corruption of the military and civil service of this new 'Sovereign'. He entirely forbade officials to trade for their own interest, or to accept presents from natives, but he raised their very inadequate salaries to compensate for this. He cut down the enormous field-allowances of the officers of the Army, and when many of them mutinied he cashiered them and filled their places with civilian volunteers, arresting and threatening with death the leaders of the mutiny. He made the Nabob simply a pensioner of the British Government, but allowed him to retain criminal jurisdiction over the natives; he refused all gifts for himself. He left India for good in January 1767.

The opinion of the Directors on all these reforms was simply that they themselves had been overridden by a very strong man; that dividends would fall, even if Empire had been founded; that their patronage had now lost half its value. They had plenty of means (for the influence of the India House, both in Parliament and Press, was enormous) of revenging themselves, and they used them to the full. Clive took up the cudgels, and in a fiery speech in Parliament (which won enthusiastic praise from his hero Chatham) denounced his accusers wholesale. An inquiry into his conduct was instituted by Parliament, which lasted for two years, and in the end acquitted him of all the charges which his enemies preferred against him. He did not attempt to deny that he had received, on his first visit to Bengal, when he was merely a soldier in the service of the Company, large sums from Meer Jeffier, declaring at the same time that, when he considered what he might have taken, 'he stood astonished at his own moderation.' Anyhow, such gifts and receipts were not to be permitted again.

Clive's health was probably broken when he returned in 1767; he had never been a strong man, and the inquiry had caused him many

sleepless nights and induced him to seek relief in opium. This brought on nervous depression, and, in spite of the great happiness of his own home life, he committed suicide in his forty-ninth year in 1774. His eldest son got a British peerage and an Earldom, and was Governor of Madras from 1798-1803.

JOHN LIGONIER FIRST EARL LIGONIER

(1680-1770)

Field Marshal, was of old Huguenot family, and fled at the age of seventeen from France to Ireland; he had an uncle there in the English army, which he immediately joined. If not the 'hero of a hundred fights' he certainly had more active service to his name than most, if not than any other, British officer; in almost every campaign he was distinguished, either by some special deed of gallantry or some clever tactical move; and from every one, so far as we have record, he came out unhurt. Schellenberg, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Wynendael, Malplaquet, Dettingen (where he was knighted on the field by the King, like a 'banneret' of old), Fontenoy (where he commanded the foot and conducted the wonderful retirement), Rocoux, and Lawfelt, at the last of which he was taken prisoner after saving our infantry by his magnificent cavalry charges; these great actions, and the numerous sieges, escalades and the like, which fell to his lot in the intervals, go very near to constitute what is vulgarly called 'a record' of service. And he was almost as fortunate in what he missed as in what he saw, for although he held for a few weeks the command in Lancashire during the 'Forty-five', he was spared the shame of serving in Scotland the man, with whom he had suffered at Fontenoy as he was to suffer at Lawfelt, the Duke of Cumberland. This was because he went to

Belgium again in the first days of '46. At the close of the War of the Austrian Succession Ligonier, already an old man, got the command of the Ordnance, and had the honour to be deprived of it by one of Newcastle's political jobs in 1756. George III, who constantly consulted him and trusted him as much as he distrusted Newcastle and his own son Cumberland, restored him to this post, made him Commander-in-Chief after Cumberland's failure in Hanover, and gave him an Irish peerage. Though again deprived of the Ordnance Ligonier became an English peer in 1763 and an Earl three years later, and only resigned the Chief Command in 1767. He certainly gave much advice to Pitt during the Seven Years' War, but it was not always listened to ; for instance he protested strongly, but in vain, against the Rochefort expedition. Ligonier was immensely beloved by his men in every regiment that he commanded, and he made his commands the pattern and standard for the whole army. The Cavalry was his favourite service, and it is noticed by Mr. Fortescue that he advocated reforms in its organization which have only begun to be adopted in our own days.

SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS

(1713-1775)

Admiral, whose parentage is unknown, entered the Navy in the first year of George II and sailed with Anson round the world. Anson remained his especial patron, and Anson was an excellent judge of sailors. Saunders served with glory in the rest of the War of the Austrian Succession, and entered Parliament soon after the Peace, becoming Controller of the Navy in 1755. He went to the Mediterranean as Rear-Admiral in the next year, and did excellent service, together with Admiral Osborn, against the Toulon fleet, in spite of the difficulties resulting from the neutrality of Spain, into whose harbours



ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS, K.B.

From the portrait by Richard Brompton in the Gallery at Greenwich Hospital



JOHN, FIRST EARL LIGONIER

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Gallery

the Frenchmen frequently fled. When the expedition for Canada was fitted out Anson selected his favourite to attempt the task, till then believed impossible, of sailing up the St. Lawrence to take Quebec ; and with Saunders, strategist, skilled navigator, and disciplinarian, he sent Holmes, the man to lead any forlorn hope. The sailors of these commanders (among whom was James Cook) did not find the dreaded passage up the river any worse than that of the Thames ; moreover, Saunders and Holmes both got on unusually well with the leaders of the Army. Wolfe's desperate but successful attempt to land where he landed, climb where he climbed, and fight where he fought, at the very gates of Quebec, was, indeed, thought by both Saunders and Holmes to be exceedingly questionable, but they loyally co-operated in it ; Saunders held the reach below Quebec and made feints to distract the attention of the French General, Montcalm ; Holmes superintended the actual landing, and Quebec fell. Saunders then returned to Europe just too late to take part in Hawke's great November victory off Quiberon ; he was indeed steering to join Hawke when the news of the battle reached him. He then returned for a time to the Mediterranean Station, was knighted in 1761, became after the Peace a Lord of the Admiralty, and for a short time First Lord, 1766. He had no further active service.

JAMES COOK

(1728-1779)

explorer, was the son of a Yorkshire field-labourer in the Cleveland district, and got some decent instruction as a boy at the village school of Ayton. There is some discrepancy in the dates recorded of his being bound apprentice to a grocer and draper at the fishing village of Staith (also spelt Staiths and Staithes) on the Yorkshire coast, nor is it certain whether he ran away or whether his master cancelled his indentures willingly ; but it seems clear that, before 1748, he was an apprentice to a shipowning firm at Whitby, that he traded between London and Newcastle, between Newcastle and Norway, and that he had acted as mate on a Baltic ship, before he joined the Navy, ' having a mind to try his fortune that way ', at the opening of the Seven Years' War. He was an A.B. in Palliser's sixty-gun ship *Eagle*, and was well noticed by his very able captain. As sailing-master in the *Mercury* in 1759 he piloted, or helped to pilot, Saunders's fleet up the St. Lawrence for the attack on Quebec, and earned the warm patronage of the Admiral for doing so. He was then appointed master in the *Northumberland*, wintering that year at Halifax, during which time he studied hard at mathematics and scientific navigation. In 1760 he was given command, with the acting rank of Lieutenant, of a surveying sloop to chart the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, his old captain, Hugh Palliser, being Governor of Newfoundland at the time. This occupied him for several years. Each winter he returned to England; and the results of his labours were published as ' sailing directions ' for the use of navigators of that region. In 1766 Cook took careful observation of a solar eclipse in Newfoundland and published his results. On one of his earlier visits home, 1762, he had married a Miss Batts, of Barking, by whom he had six children, all of whom died young, two being lost at sea in the service of the Navy.



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N.

From the portrait by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the Gallery of Greenwich Hospital

When Cook returned to England, already with some reputation as sailor, surveyor, and navigator, the Royal Society was about to send an expedition to Otaheite, to observe the Transit of Venus, due in 1769 ; and Palliser procured Cook's appointment, with a commission as Lieutenant, to command the ship *Endeavour* for the voyage. It was Captain Wallis, just returned from a circumnavigation of the globe, who fixed on the destination of the observers ; Wallis, Carteret, Byron, and Anson had already done something towards constructing a map of the Pacific Ocean ; but its limits were yet unknown, and there was a constant tradition of a great Antarctic Continent stretching far north into it. The *Endeavour* sailed from Plymouth in August 1768, with Joseph Banks, Solander, and other learned men aboard, rounded the Horn, duly observed the Transit (June 1769), discovered the Society Islands, spent six months surveying and circumnavigating the two islands of New Zealand, and explored 2,000 miles of the eastern coast of Australia : the names ' Botany Bay ' and ' New South Wales ' date from this voyage. Cook next established for good the fact that Australia itself is an island continent and has no connexion with New Guinea, and he came home round the Cape of Good Hope, landing in June 1771. He was at once promoted Commander, and a year later started on his second voyage in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Furneaux in the *Adventure*. On this occasion Cook sailed east-by-south from the Cape, and crossed the Antarctic Circle, the ships parting company in a fog and only meeting again in Queen Charlotte's Sound three months later ; soon after this the *Adventure* returned home, leaving Cook to return to the Antarctic and to skirt the ice for many months in the vain search for the missing Southern Continent. He reached his highest latitude ($71^{\circ} 10'$) early in 1774, and it was not till 1823 that Weddell beat this record. Cook discovered on this voyage the great islands of New Caledonia and South Georgia, and returned, again *via* the Cape, in July 1775. This voyage is rendered memorable not only for its very extensive cartographical results, but also for the application of Cook's great discovery of antidotes to scurvy, particularly

that of lime-juice ; the *Endeavour* had thought herself lucky in losing little more than a third of her crew (five by scurvy) in three years ; the *Resolution* lost by disease only one of her hundred and eighteen. Henceforward a ship would not often return with

But one man of her crew alive
What put to sea with seventy-five.

Cook was promoted Post-Captain and given quarters at Greenwich Hospital, but almost at once offered to take command of a new expedition, destined to do for the North Pacific what had already been accomplished for the South. In his well-tryed *Resolution* the great sailor left Plymouth in July 1776, and was joined in November by the *Discovery* commanded by Captain Clerke ; they spent a year in Cook's old latitudes about New Zealand and Tasmania, picked up the Sandwich Isles on their northern course, and then explored the west coast of North America up to latitude $70^{\circ} 44'$, making in all a survey of coast 3,500 miles long ; they entered and passed Behring's Straits, and returned to winter at Hawaii in the Sandwich Isles, with whose natives the most friendly relations had previously been established. They had already started home in February 1779, when they had to put back, after a gale, for a slight refit. Something had changed the once adoring tempers of the dusky islanders, who were now not only thievish (as always) but sullen, and Cook, going ashore to demand justice from the King, was murdered on February 14th.

Cook's highest northern latitude was not passed till 1826, by Captain Beechey. In eleven years this simple, modest sailor had added a quarter of the globe to the map, and had made long sea-keeping voyages possible without that loss of life which, before his time, had invariably attended them.

EDWARD HAWKE

FIRST BARON HAWKE

(1705-1781)

Admiral, came from two old families, the Hawkes of Treriven in Cornwall, and the Bladens of Hemsworth, Yorks. He was born in London, where his father, Edward Hawke, was in practice at the Bar. He entered the Navy at fifteen, and got his first command in 1733. He saw a great deal of service during his early days, and became an unusually fine seaman, but he had hardly any experience of actual war before the action of Matthews off Toulon in 1744. The British captains in that action did not as a whole distinguish themselves, but Hawke was a brilliant exception. After driving off his own opposite Frenchman he dared to leave his place in the line and bring to action a big Spanish ship, of which he made prize. Three years later, having just been raised, by the special wish of George II, to flag rank, he won a brilliant, but now forgotten, battle over the French admiral l'Etenduère in the Bay of Biscay, and won it by reckless disregard of the regulation tactics of the day ; he had to catch a running enemy, and he simply crowded sail on to his leading ships until he caught him ; with fourteen of his own he utterly put out of action six out of the nine much larger ships opposed to him. But for this great victory he received only a K.C.B. ; there is much evidence that Lord Anson was jealous of him, and that this jealousy dogged Hawke throughout his career. In the same year Hawke obtained a seat in the House of Commons, which he held until he was raised to the peerage, but he took no active part in parliamentary debates, and was always a shining example of a non-political officer. During the Peace, 1748-56, he held various unimportant posts, and continued to be shamefully neglected by the Admiralty. He was sent, when too late, to relieve Minorca and to

supersede Byng ; on arriving in the Mediterranean he found the island already in French hands. In 1757 Pitt, who knew very little about sailors, and resented Hawke's outspoken criticism of his strategy, was persuaded by Anson to give him the command of the expedition against Rochefort, and it was certainly not Hawke's fault that the General selected to lead the troops, Sir Charles Mordaunt, proved incompetent and failed ; but the affair did not increase the minister's love for the Admiral. Hawke had the command in the Channel from February 1758, and struck a useful blow by destroying a French convoy in the Basque Roads in March ; but he was ill on shore all the summer and winter of '58-9, and did not resume his command till the following spring. It was then that, after much ill luck and more ill usage, he got his real opportunity and was able to deal with the Brest fleet as Boscawen dealt with that of Toulon. For Hawke succeeded in that which had hitherto been deemed impossible, the maintenance of an effective blockade of the great French Atlantic port throughout the summer and autumn, his ships running in very heavy westerly gales (which would surely prevent the French from coming out) to Plymouth or Torbay. This was the principle which saved England from invasion during the Great War, and it is this which lifts Hawke into the first class among British admirals. His patience was rewarded in November ; during a series of fierce gales, he caught up Conflans (whom a sudden lull had allowed to escape from Brest) as the latter was steering south in order to drive off a frigate squadron then blockading Quiberon. Hawke's action of November 20, 1759, closely resembled his victory over l'Etenduère twelve years before ; it was a chase ending in a running fight. But it was fought on a winter evening, on a lee shore full of rocks and shoals, and in very heavy weather. Hawke did indeed sacrifice two of his own vessels, which were lost as they struck the rocks, but he took or sank five Frenchmen, and drove the remainder up the rivers Loire and Vilaine on the top of an exceedingly high tide ; it was many months before the recurrence of such a tide enabled those in the Vilaine to escape. Apart from the magnitude of the victory, the feat of chasing



ADMIRAL EDWARD HAWKE, FIRST BARON HAWKE

From the portrait by Francis Cotes, R.A., in the Gallery at Greenwich Hospital

in such conditions, on such a coast, without pilots, was one of astonishing daring. It put a complete end to all French preparations for invading Great Britain, for the French Atlantic fleet had simply ceased to exist. Hawke's only reward was a pension of £1,500 a year. Great man as he was, Pitt could never forgive Hawke's readiness to question his plans for descents on the French coasts and his protests against ministerial interference in his command; Anson's own jealousy was more natural, but not less unworthy.

Even in the new reign the rise of the greatest living English seamen was slow. Hawke was passed over for the place of First Lord in favour of Saunders, the hero of Quebec, but succeeded him on his resignation in 1766. He made a most excellent head of the Admiralty, which office he held for five years, retiring in 1771, but not getting his peerage till five years later. He was immensely beloved by the fleet in spite of his strict discipline, and continually laid stress on the importance of keeping crews healthy by constant supplies of fresh vegetables and meat, by allowing them whenever possible short runs on shore, and by unsparing and outspoken criticism of the bad stuff sent out by the contractors. Moreover, he had anticipated the fighting seamanship of Nelson; in strategy, by his constant eagerness to fight and destroy the biggest fleet of the enemy which he could find; in tactics, by getting his ships close alongside the ships of the enemy and engaging at the shortest possible range.

GEORGE ANSON

BARON ANSON

(1697-1762)

Admiral, was the son of a Staffordshire squire, and entered the Navy in 1712. He was present when Byng blew the Spanish fleet out of the water off Cape Passaro in 1718, and got his first command, a sloop, in 1722. He learned more about the Spaniards when he commanded a frigate to protect English commerce on the Bahamas Station, 1724-30, and again 1732-5. But his great chance came when, in 1740, he started in his famous ship the *Centurion* as Commodore of the little squadron destined to tackle his old enemies in the Pacific. The Cape Horn passage scattered and played havoc with his fleet of six ships ; only three, with crews wasted to one-third of their original number, got into the Pacific at all. Soon, of these three, the *Centurion* alone remained, and her crew had to be reinforced with the offscourings of the Pacific Islands. Off Manila she met and captured the rich Spanish galleon which sailed annually between the Philippines and Spanish America laden with wealth (June 1743) ; and a year later Anson brought home round the Cape of Good Hope half a million sterling. He was disgusted with the scanty reward bestowed by the Government on his officers, and refused the flag rank that was offered to himself ; but, after the change of Government in the same year, he accepted a seat on the Admiralty Board, and was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1745. He commanded the Channel fleet in the next year, and in 1747 defeated the Frenchmen under La Jonquière off the Spanish coast, capturing part of a rich convoy ; for this victory the Admiral obtained his peerage. He resumed his seat on the Board and married Elizabeth Yorke, daughter of the great Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, between whom and his son-in-law a warm friendship already existed. In 1751 Anson



ADMIRAL GEORGE ANSON, BARON ANSON

From the portrait by George Romney belonging
to the Duke of Richmond, K.G.



SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.

From the portrait at the Oriental Club
Painter uncertain



LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE GERMAIN,
FIRST VISCOUNT SACKVILLE

From a mezzotint after the painting by
Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.



LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD

From the original portrait by H. D. Hamilton, in the
possession of the Duke of Leinster, at
Carton, Maynooth

became First Lord and held office till 1756. He was thus responsible for sending Byng, in the spring of 1756, with insufficient force to relieve Minorca ; and the reason that must be given is that he, in common with his colleagues, believed a French invasion of Britain to be impending, and so kept most of his ships in home waters. He had no share in the trial and execution of Byng, as he had already resigned office when it took place ; but he certainly did nothing to save Byng. After an interval of a few months, he resumed the First Lordship in Pitt's (July 1757) Ministry, and he must be held, in common with Pitt, responsible, whether for good or evil, for the system of 'pinpricks' which was pursued on the French coast in 1757, 1758 ; but responsible also for the equipment of the fleets that swept the seas clean of enemies in 1759-60.

Anson's *Voyage Round the World*, compiled from his papers by his chaplain, is one of the great 'classics of Naval History. Anson was unquestionably a great administrator of the Navy ; he built the real first-rates in which Hawke and Boscawen won their victories ; he created the present corps of the Marines ; he issued the Articles of War, and reformed the system of naval tactics. Mr. Julian Corbett, in his *England in the Seven Years' War*, goes so far as to call him 'a Father of the British Navy'. Perhaps his greatest merit is to have been a member of Newcastle's Ministry without allowing that arch-jobber for one moment to use the Navy to gather votes for him in Parliament. In private life the Admiral's most marked characteristic was his invincible habit of silence.

SIR EYRE COOTE

(1726-1783)

General, son of an Irish clergyman, was descended from stout soldiers of Carolian and Commonwealth times ; one of his ancestors was a prime agent in bringing Cromwell's Irish Army over to the Royalist cause in 1660. Eyre Coote is first heard of as a subaltern in the 39th Regiment, the first King's troops to be sent to India, in 1754. It was he who, against the majority of Clive's council of war before the battle of Plassey (1757), gave his voice for fighting, and convinced Clive in favour of an attack. In 1759 his able strategy drew Lally away from his threatened attack upon Trichinopoly, and his even more able tactics beat Lally's superior French Army at Wandewash in January 1760. A year later Lally surrendered Pondichéry to Coote, and the French lost India for the first time. Coote went home in 1762, already in possession of great riches, of which he was reputed to be too fond. He was in India again 1768-9, and home again in 1770. Finally, as Commander-in-Chief in India and a Knight of the Bath, he took his seat on Hastings's Indian Council, in the room of Clavering, early in 1779, and became a firm if somewhat crabbed ally of the Governor-General. When the rise of Hyder Ali's power in the south threatened to extinguish the Madras Presidency, and when the disaster to Baillie's force at Parambakam had gravely compromised the whole prestige of Great Britain in India, it was to Coote that Hastings turned in order to save the situation. Coote reached Madras by sea in November 1780, and drew Hyder Ali after him as he successively raised the sieges of the few forts still holding out in the Southern Presidency. A French fleet appeared off the coast, and Coote was nearly starved at Cuddalore, between the sea and the desert into which Hyder's horsemen had turned the once-flourishing Carnatic. But the French Admiral suddenly raised the sea blockade, Admiral Hughes appeared with supplies, and Coote was

able to march out and win the decisive battle of Porto Novo against 90,000 of Hyder's men, odds of ten to one (July 1781). He was too weak in cavalry to pursue, but during the next six months he inflicted several serious defeats upon Hyder, though he was so broken in health that he had to hand over his command to James Stuart before the peace came. He was prematurely aged by hard work and the climate and died at Madras in April 1783.

Mr. Fortescue considers Coote to have been one of the greatest of tacticians of any time; 'his power of manœuvring masses of troops was marvellous.' And Wilks in his *History of Mysore* ascribes to him 'the nearest possible approach to perfection as a soldier'. Coote made special use of the advance 'in echelon', which is so effective, when well employed, against superior numbers. His Sepoys as well as his British troops adored him.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE GERMAIN

FIRST VISCOUNT SACKVILLE

(1716-1785)

better known as Lord George Sackville, was the son of the first Duke of Dorset and Elizabeth Colyear. The name of Germain came to him when he inherited the property of the long-widowed Lady Betty Germain in 1769. He was educated at Westminster and at Trinity College Dublin, and entered the Army at twenty-one; a year or two afterwards he entered the House of Commons. As a young man he served with distinction at Fontenoy, where he was wounded, took part in Cumberland's 'pacification' of Scotland after Culloden, became Chief Secretary to his father Dorset during Dorset's second tenure of the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1750-1755; and, though

haughty and unpopular, had hitherto won the good opinion of those under whom he had served. But in 1757 he refused the offer made to him by Pitt to command the attack on Rochefort ; he thought it would fail, and he was right, and he sat afterwards on a commission of inquiry which censured Mordaunt, the commander of the unsuccessful expedition. A year later Sackville served as second in command in Marlborough's equally unsuccessful attempt upon Saint-Malo from the Bay of Cancale ; their retreat was hasty, though perhaps not blameworthy. In 1759 he held the command of all the British cavalry under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick in Westphalia, and it was his deliberate disobedience to Ferdinand's four-times-repeated order to charge at the battle of Minden which earned him the reputation of a coward. Not only did Sackville, who from the beginning of the campaign had been on bad terms both with Ferdinand and his own second-in-command, Granby, refuse to lead his own squadrons, but he also deliberately ordered Granby to stand still, and this although he saw before his eyes the astonishing spectacle of a single line of British infantry break through three lines of the flower of the French cavalry at appalling loss to themselves. Sackville was tried by court-martial and dismissed the service. It is possible to attribute his action to ill-temper, but Mr. Fortescue concludes that the evidence clearly points to cowardice ; Sackville had shown spirit on earlier occasions, ' but the courage of some men is not the same on every day '.

Unluckily for Great Britain, the reaction at the beginning of George III's reign brought with it a reinstatement of Sackville among the civilian (though not among the military) servants of the Government. He was received again at Court and continued to sit in Parliament. Rockingham's Ministry made him Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and restored him to his seat in the Privy Council, though Chatham would have nothing to say to him. He adhered to Lord North in 1770, fought a duel with one of his slanderers, and became North's Secretary of State for the Colonies during the American War. For the disasters of that war, and especially for Saratoga and Yorktown, he must be

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE GERMAIN 189

held primarily responsible. He persisted in attempting to plan campaigns, which had to be fought three thousand miles away, from his desk in London ; he encouraged the disloyalty of subordinates to their commanders in the field, and he signalled out for special persecution any one who had sat on, or given evidence before, the court-martial which had disgraced himself. Clinton and Burgoyne were probably the two men who suffered the worst treatment at his incapable and malicious hands ; Howe and Carleton also knew him only too well. It is interesting to see that his orders for the West Indian part of the campaigns were marked by a futility as great as that by which he ruined British strategy on the American continent. Yet George III, whose judgement in military matters was not usually so much in fault, clung to Sackville tenaciously and gave him a Viscounty at his retirement from the Ministry in 1782.

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD

(1763-1798)

son of James Fitzgerald, first Duke of Leinster and twentieth Earl of Kildare, and of Lady Emily Lennox, a daughter of the second Duke of Richmond, is famous as having joined the Irish Rebellion of 1798. His father was an honourable supporter of the British Government, but also a true champion of Ireland when that Government acted without regard to Irish interests. Lord Edward entered the Army at an early age, and served gallantly in the southern campaign of the American War in 1781. While nominally present with his regiment in Canada after the peace, he is said to have lived largely with the Red Indians, and to have been received as a blood-brother into one of their tribes ; he loved adventures, and was one of those to whom adventures come. Thus, in 1792, being already a professed admirer of the French Revolution, he went to Paris and became a bosom friend of the Girondists,

who had just abolished the monarchy and imprisoned the King ; he returned to Ireland with a charming wife known as Pamela, who perhaps was, and perhaps was not, the daughter of the Duc d'Orléans by Madame de Genlis. In 1796 he began to apply his French lessons to his own country, and joined the conspiracy of the United Irishmen to set up a Republic in Ireland. How far he was cognizant of the plans of wholesale massacre which formed part of their scheme is an open question, but the evidence against him is fairly strong. He was arrested on the information of the police agent Reynolds, wounded in the scuffle of his arrest, and died in prison of his wounds. He was probably honourable and single-minded, which were virtues not shared by all his fellow conspirators.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT

FIRST BARON HEATHFIELD

(1717-1790)

General, was the son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, of Stobs, Roxburghshire, was educated at Leyden, and at the French military college of La Fère. He served as a volunteer in the Prussian Army in the War of the Polish Succession, and learned many lessons of discipline, which he afterwards applied to his own commands in England. He also learned poliorcetics, and his first commissions were those of field engineer and artilleryman. He served in the guards through the War of the Austrian Succession, and was at both Dettingen and Fontenoy. He raised a regiment of light cavalry on the Austrian model in 1759, and served as its colonel under Prince Ferdinand in 1759, 1760 ; his was the real credit when the stupid Albemarle took Havana in 1761. ' So varied an experience ', says Mr. Fortescue, ' has fallen to the lot of few British officers ' ; he



GEORGE AUGUSTUS ELIOTT, FIRST BARON HEATHFIELD
From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Gallery

was moreover, in an age and an Army not famous for abstemiousness, a water-drinker and a vegetarian.

In 1777 he was sent to command the garrison at Gibraltar, which the Spaniards, as soon as they joined the Allies against Great Britain, at once blockaded by land and sea. The garrison was insufficient and never exceeded seven thousand men with ninety-six guns ; supplies were very short ; Elliott was asked to send a battalion to help Minorca (which was even in worse plight), but refused to do so ; he was blamed at the time, but was perfectly right. In January 1780 Rodney, after throwing some supplies into Gibraltar, made havoc of the blockading Spanish fleet, but the blockade soon recommenced. In April 1781 Admiral Darby brought a fresh convoy safely through the enemy, and victualled the fortress well. The Spaniards at once began a furious bombardment, which lasted without intermission for thirteen months, and when Minorca had succumbed, early in February 1782, the French were soon added to the besiegers. Elliott's resistance is one of the classic defences of military history ; he fought not only against shot and shell, but against scurvy, drunkenness, and starvation among his own men. He ' dug himself into ' the Rock itself, hewing embrasures for guns and passages in it which still remain. Once he utterly destroyed the Spanish land-batteries by a sortie. When the French fleet arrived in May 1782, it set up ten floating batteries screened by wet sandbags ; but Elliott rained red-hot shot upon them. By September forty-seven allied line-of-battle ships, and forty thousand men with two hundred guns on land, were brought to bear on the devoted Rock. The greatest crisis was on September 13th and 14th ; and before noon of the 14th every one of the floating batteries had been destroyed by the British fire. Still remained the land blockade, the sea blockade, and the starvation, till October 11th, when Lord Howe appeared. The Allied fleets drew off to follow and fight him ; he doubled back and threw a large convoy into the fortress. The enemy continued a desultory bombardment until the peace of February 1783. The blockade had lasted three years, seven months, and twelve days.

Innumerable stories are told in Drinkwater's *Two Sieges of Gibraltar* of Elliott's inventiveness and of his severe, but often humorous, methods of keeping discipline.

Elliott received his peerage as a reward in 1787 ; never was such an honour more worthily bestowed.

AUGUSTUS KEPPEL FIRST VISCOUNT KEPPEL

(1725-1786)

Admiral, second son of the famous spendthrift Earl of Albemarle, entered the Navy in 1735, sailed round the world in the *Centurion* with Anson, whose favourite he thenceforward remained, and got his first command in 1744. He served with conspicuous gallantry and ability in the Seven Years' War, first in North America, then at Goree, which he took in 1758 ; then in Hawke's great victory of Quiberon Bay ; in the Brest blockade ; at Belleisle, which he took, 1761 ; and finally under Pocock at Havana, where his own stupid brother had command of the land forces and where the Keppels were greatly enriched by prize-money on the fall of the town. For this service Augustus Keppel received flag rank. During the peace he embarked on politics as an extreme Whig, and during North's Ministry was a bitter opponent of Lord Sandwich, who held the Admiralty. Sandwich, however, could not avoid employing him when war broke out with France in 1778, though Keppel always believed that Sandwich purposely kept his fleet ill supplied ; his crews were mobs of untrained men. In equal force the French and English met off Ushant in July ; each manœuvred for the weather gauge, and Keppel seems to have got into a position in which he could force his enemy to fight, but the fleets finally parted, after being four days in each other's presence with only one short



GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY. FIRST
BARON RODNEY

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in
St. James's Palace



AUGUSTUS, FIRST VISCOUNT KEPPEL

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Portrait
Gallery

action, in which no substantial damage was done to either ; not unnaturally there was loud outcry at home. Keppel threw all the blame upon the only partisan Sandwich had afloat, Sir Hugh Palliser, who was his third in command. Palliser openly accused Keppel of cowardice and disaffection, and demanded and obtained a court-martial on his chief. All the evidence went in favour of Keppel ; he was unanimously acquitted, and became the hero of the hour, as well as a stick with which the Whigs could beat Lord North's Ministry. It is probable that the finding was right and that Keppel had done his best, but Captain Mahan is evidently of opinion that he displayed little tactical ability and nothing exceptional in the way of seamanship. It is also quite clear that he was much more of a politician than a loyal sailor should have been. In Rockingham's Ministry he became First Lord and got a peerage, but he retired in broken health from public life in 1783. He was the warm friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who painted him repeatedly. His name is still perpetuated by ' The Keppel's Head ' on Portsmouth Hard, the favourite inn of the younger members of the service from his day to our own.

GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY

FIRST BARON RODNEY

(1719-1792)

Admiral, came of an old Somerset family ; he was the son of Captain Henry Rodney and Mary Newton, entered the Navy at an early age, and served in the Spanish War of 1739 and the War of the Austrian Succession. He distinguished himself under Hawke in 1747. He was a Post-Captain at twenty-three, and reached flag rank in 1759. In the Seven Years' War he served under both Boscawen and Hawke, and had the honour of completing our series of victories in the West Indies by the successive captures in 1762 of Martinique, St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent. He was rewarded with a baronetcy and the government of Greenwich Hospital. But when Lord North's Government came in and there was a prospect of employment in American waters, Rodney was prematurely aged, and was a martyr to the gout. He held the command in Jamaica 1771-4, but lost thereby his Governorship of Greenwich. He had been a great gambler and an extravagant liver—Horace Walpole relates an amusing story of his early gambling adventures—and he regarded with chagrin his loss of the Greenwich appointment. He was on thoroughly bad terms with Sandwich, the incompetent arch-jobber who was at the head of the Admiralty, and he believed that Sandwich actually cheated him of his pay. When superseded in his West Indian command he found himself in financial straits ; he retired therefore to Paris in 1775 in order to economize, but, like other people who have tried the same experiment, came back poorer than he went. That he came back at all was owing to the chivalry of a French nobleman who, on hearing Rodney boast that he could deal with any French fleet that could be put on the sea, paid his debts for him, and procured his return to England in 1778. Even

after this it was only the personal insistence of George III that procured Rodney's appointment to the command on the West India Station at the end of 1779.

On his way to take command of this, he effected one of the three celebrated reliefs of the long siege of Gibraltar by utterly crushing, in a dark night on a lee shore, the Spanish fleet of Admiral Langara off Cadiz (January 1780). In April he met de Guichen, the best of the French Admirals, off Martinique. Rodney was a daring innovator in tactics, and, had his signals been understood by his captains, from whom he always stood somewhat aloof, he would in all probability have annihilated his opponent; Captain Mahan considers that here, far more than in his more famous action of two years later, he displayed the most brilliant qualities of a naval tactician. As it was, the results of the action were slight, and Rodney, ignorant of de Guichen's next move and feeling that he had to provide both for Jamaica and for the safety of the troops which England had locked up in America, then divided his fleet, and, leaving half in the West Indies, sailed with the remainder to New York; this had the advantage of staving off the intended French attack on that city. At the end of 1780, when Holland had been added to our enemies, he seized the enormously rich Dutch West Indian isles of St. Eustace and St. Martin, and thereby cut off one of their main sources of supply from the French and from the American rebels. He lingered too long in the islands (and too many people said he was filling his own pockets there) instead of flying at the throat of the new French Admiral de Grasse, who arrived on the Station in March 1781. Had he flown at de Grasse at once he would probably have anticipated his own great victory by twelve months, and prevented the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. Rodney's own broken health compelled him to go on leave to England in the summer, and this allowed de Grasse the respite which enabled him to blockade Cornwallis in Yorktown, and thus bring the Continental War to a close in the autumn of 1781; Rodney's orders for the period of his absence had been very imperfectly carried out by his subordinates. Early in

1782 the Admiral was back in the West Indies and had been joined by Sir Samuel Hood ; their total force was thirty-four ships-of-the-line, as against de Grasse's thirty-three. De Grasse was concentrating for an attack upon Jamaica, the Spaniards were to come to his aid. But Rodney met him in April off the little islands called ' Les Saintes ', between Guadaloupe and Dominica, brought him to action after a series of skilful manœuvres, and, breaking through the line at two separate points, threw his enemy into complete disorder ; the *Ville de Paris*, the largest ship afloat, with the French admiral on board, was captured along with four other first-rates, and the remainder of the French fleet was severely crippled. Then, most unaccountably, Rodney omitted to follow up his victory ; Hood was convinced that, if he had done so, not five ships only, but twenty might have been taken. No excuses of gout, old age, or ill-health can be made for this error, and it was idle to say that the English fleet was too hard hit for pursuit.

Rodney was at once superseded, not however for this mistake, which the British Government was probably too ignorant to appreciate, but because he was a strong Tory in politics, and Lord North's Ministry had just been succeeded by the Rockingham Whigs. Even they were obliged to give him a peerage and a pension, and to muzzle their champion Burke, who had, perhaps not without some justification, denounced Rodney's wholesale confiscations of contraband cargoes at St. Eustace. Rodney had no further service, and died in London just before the opening of the Great War.

SIR EDWARD HUGHES

(1720?–1794)

Admiral, about whose parentage or birth nothing is known, joined the Navy shortly before the Spanish War of 1739, and was present at the reduction of Portobello and the failure at Cartagena. In 1744, being in the squadron of Lestock, who failed to succour Admiral Matthews in the battle off Toulon, Hughes learned 'how not to do it'. His first command was the *Lark*, 1748. Ten years later he served under Saunders in the campaigns of Louisburg and Quebec, and attained flag rank just before his appointment to the East India Station in 1778. For two years he cruised off the Indian coast, without meeting an antagonist more formidable than a few of Hyder Ali's praws, and aided in the capture of Negapatam and Trincomalee, 1781–2; Madras was his base, and he had a long line of shore to defend. Early in 1782 appeared off the coast, in somewhat superior force to himself, the Bailli de Suffren, one of the greatest sailors France ever produced. The two fleets fought, between February and September, four desperate actions, and a fifth not a year later (June 1783), with frightful slaughter on both sides, yet without either side losing a ship-of-the-line. The news of the conclusion of Peace reached the East Indies just after the last of these actions. Only in that battle had the British the numerical superiority, and yet it was that one battle in which Hughes was most nearly defeated. The actual fruits of the whole campaign had remained with the Frenchman, who had not only pounced upon Trincomalee while Hughes was refitting in Madras, but had cut off from Madras the British troops which were besieging Cuddalore. Captain Mahan, in his work on *The Influence of Sea Power*, has drawn from the respective situations and performances of the gallant antagonists many useful lessons of naval strategy and tactics. Hughes was an admiral of no special genius, but a fine seaman and a dogged fighter, and was admirably supported by every captain in his little fleet; six of his captains

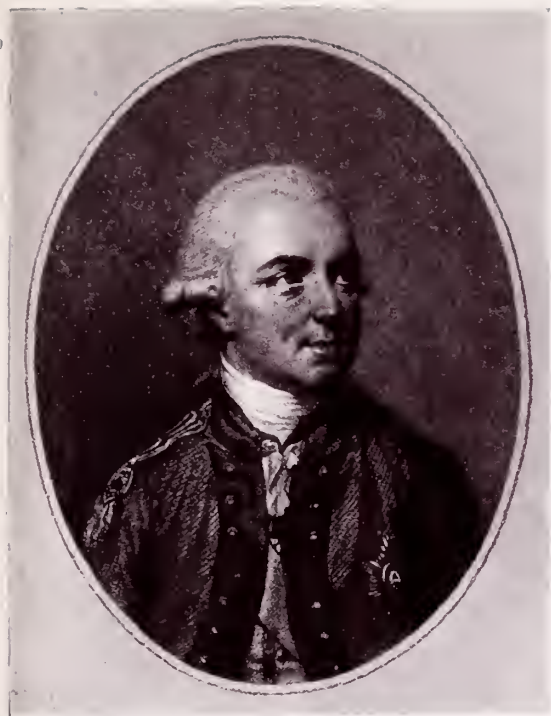
died in the actions. Suffren, both as sailor and strategist, was immeasurably superior to Hughes, but was badly seconded by his captains, at least one of whom displayed actual cowardice under fire.

Hughes had fairly earned his repose when he struck his flag on his return to England, and he died a year after the outbreak of the Great War.

SIR HENRY CLINTON

(1738?-1795)

General, was the son of Admiral Clinton, and was born while his father was Governor of Newfoundland, probably about 1738. He joined the Guards in 1751, and distinguished himself greatly under Ferdinand of Brunswick in the latter part of the Seven Years' War. He obtained a seat in Parliament in 1772 in the Newcastle interest, and served in the first campaign in the American War as Major-General, fought with gallantry at Bunker Hill, became second in command under Sir William Howe in 1776, and played the principal part in the capture of New York. After Burgoyne's disaster at Saratoga and Howe's return to England, Clinton succeeded to the command of the British Army in America. He decided to concentrate all his forces at New York, and, in evacuating Philadelphia, made a creditable march thither. He endeavoured to wear out the enemy by *la petite guerre*, in which he had a great deal of success. But his plans, like those of all our Generals in this war, were thwarted and spoiled by the absurd and self-contradictory orders dispatched by Germaine from England. 'For God's sake, my Lord,' Clinton wrote to Germaine, 'if you wish me to do anything leave me to myself.' The expedition to the Southern States of 1780 was entirely against Clinton's judgement; he had not nearly enough troops to do this and to hold New York at the same time; 'he had to make one army do the work of two'. After the capture



SIR HENRY CLINTON, K.B.

From an engraving after the portrait by J. Smart



HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
belonging to the Marquess of Hertford
at Ragley Hall



RICHARD, EARL HOWE, K.G.

From a portrait by Henry Singleton in the
National Portrait Gallery



SIR EDWARD HUGHES, K.B.

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
in the Gallery at Greenwich Hospital

Face p. 198

of Charlestown Clinton left Cornwallis to finish the reduction of the South and returned to New York ; and Cornwallis soon afterwards began to treat his command (with Germaine's connivance) as quite independent of Clinton's ; naturally enough, when the crisis of Yorktown was in sight, the two Generals were not upon the best of terms. After the capitulation, the blame was thrown on Clinton by the Home Government ; ' no General ', says Mr. Fortescue, ' was ever worse treated.' Clinton's own scheme for the war, which rested upon holding only New York and devoting British energy to a series of raids upon the coast-line, might very probably have been successful, and he thoroughly recognized the need for co-operation between the Army and the Navy.

Clinton resigned his command in May 1781, and went home, publishing two years later his own story of the campaign. He died as Governor of Gibraltar. Both his sons were distinguished soldiers in the Great War, and one of them commanded a division in the Peninsula and at Waterloo.

HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY

(1721-1795)

Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief, was the son of Francis Seymour, Lord Conway, and of Charlotte Shorter, sister to Lady Walpole. He was thus Horace Walpole's first cousin, and is well known as the ' Dearest Harry ' of the whole period covered by the *Letters*. If proof were needed of Horace's capacity for warm and unselfish affection it would be afforded by the charming friendship which these letters disclose. Walpole was a man who would do, say, or write anything for his friends, and we cannot doubt that he has written Conway into a fame to which Conway's natural talents would never have raised him.

But Conway's lovable character and keen sense of honour would have entitled him to regard in any age.

Conway was all his life a man of great reading and study, constantly seeking to improve himself, and to set a good example both in soldiering and statecraft. He entered the Army at a very early age, and sat in Parliament for over thirty years. As a soldier he served successively in the Wars of the Austrian Succession in 1744-5, the campaign of Culloden, the War in Flanders in 1747, and the Seven Years' War. But his career was either unlucky or marred by want of talent. Thus, although present with the Guards at Dettingen his brigade was not engaged; he was at the defeats of Fontenoy and Lawfeldt, and was taken prisoner at the latter. He was selected by Pitt for the Rochefort expedition, but had the incompetent Mordaunt put over his head by the King; and both he and Mordaunt had to submit (to the intense anxiety of Horace Walpole) to a Court of Inquiry after the failure of that attempt. He won moderate distinction under Ferdinand of Brunswick in 1761-2, but saw no active service after the Peace of Paris. He ought to have seen some when in 1781, during the American War, the French made a descent on Jersey, of which Conway was Governor; but he happened to be in England at a time when perhaps he ought to have been in Jersey. Finally, his Commandership-in-Chief in Rockingham's second Government was wholly a political appointment, made in order to bring the weight of his high character to the support of a weak Ministry. In his political life also Conway had no striking success; he always disliked politics, and was far more at home in camp or field, but he came gradually to hold rather strong Whig opinions, and so was thrust upwards into positions for which he was little qualified. He was Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Devonshire) in 1754, and was proscribed in 1764, together with other officers, for his opposition to Bute's Government; he was then deprived of his regiment. He was Secretary of State in Rockingham's first Ministry, 1765-6, which repealed the Stamp Act, and he continued for a time to hold this office under Chatham; but he had

to look on impotently at Charles Townshend's reckless policy in 1767, and resigned office in 1768. He steadily opposed the Ministry of Lord North, on no subject more heartily than on the American War, and to him fell in February 1782 the task of moving the abandonment of all attempts to coerce America. This led to his obtaining the place in Rockingham's second Cabinet mentioned above. He retained the command of the Army until the general election in 1784. His private life was singularly happy; he married the charming widow Lady Ailesbury, daughter of the Duke of Argyll, and had by her one daughter, Horace Walpole's especial pet and heiress, Anne, afterwards Mrs. Damer, to whom Strawberry Hill was finally bequeathed.

RICHARD HOWE

EARL HOWE

(1726-1799)

Admiral, almost the exact contemporary of the two Hoods (Lords Hood and Bridport), was the son of the second Viscount Howe and of a granddaughter of George I. He entered the Navy in 1739, and saw a good deal of lively service before the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, receiving his first command—a sloop—before the end of 1745. During the short peace (1748-55) he served on several outlying stations, and had the honour, as Captain of the *Dunkirk*, in Boscawen's (1755) expedition to North America, of firing the first shot in the Seven Years' War (which had not yet been declared). Posterity may wonder why a captain, who was on active service through the Seven Years' War and the War of the American Rebellion, should have thought it necessary to be a member of the House of Commons during the whole of that time; but such was the custom, and Howe represented Dartmouth from 1757

until he became a peer in 1782. He served successively in the descents upon Rochefort, Cancale, Cherbourg, Saint-Cast (1757-8), and in Hawke's great victory off Quiberon in 1759, where his ship, the *Magnanime*, covered itself and its captain with glory. He was Treasurer of the Navy, 1765-70, during the next Peace, and attained flag rank in the latter year. He got the North American command when in 1775 his brother Sir William took the first regiments to overawe the revolting colonies, and co-operated admirably with our land forces in the early operations of the war (which he thoroughly disliked). He could not have engaged d'Estaing's very superior French fleet when it first appeared in American waters, but he took up such a position that d'Estaing showed no sort of anxiety to engage him. The English Admiral was only too anxious to lay down his command, and had the courage of his opinions at the end of 1777. Lord Sandwich would have liked to make him a scapegoat for his own hopeless mismanagement of the Admiralty Office, but Howe on his return courted the fullest inquiry, and went into a dignified sulk till Lord North quitted office. Rockingham's Government gave him an English peerage and the Channel command in 1782, and it was in this office that he performed his great feat of the relief of Gibraltar against an overwhelmingly superior number of Frenchmen and Spaniards; the latter, however, were somewhat inefficient, and some critics have considered that Howe ought to have sunk or taken the greater part of the enemy. Howe was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in the Coalition, and again in Pitt's first Government; he held the office till 1788, and must be held partially responsible for his chief's neglect and starvation of the service. But on the outbreak of the Great War he returned to the Channel command, and won the 'Glorious First of June', 1794, over Villaret-Joyeuse. He sank one and took six French ships, and, in the opinion of Nelson and others, ought to have taken many more, for he let the great convoy of provisions from America, which was coming to relieve starving France, get safe into port. It was to protect this convoy that the gallant if somewhat unskilled Frenchmen had fought for four

days (May 28—June 1), and its arrival was worth to France far more than the loss of seven ships. It was in allusion to this that the over-critical Nelson used to speak of any imperfectly pushed success as a 'Lord Howe victory'.

Though Howe remained in nominal command till 1797, he was worn out with age, and practically abandoned his office to Bridport; but he had the honour of coming down to Spithead and quelling, by conciliatory measures, the Mutiny of 1797, which Bridport could hardly have effected unaided; for, though haughty and grumbling to his superiors, Howe was thoroughly beloved by the lower deck. If not a great sailor in the Hawke and Nelson sense, he was distinctly a good one; he had energy and confidence in himself and his men, and brought great professional experience to bear on all questions of strategy and tactics. He was wrong in his aversion to long sea-keeping blockades, but it was an aversion supported by some cogent and not always answerable arguments. His Whiggery and hatred of the American War were unfortunate for his fame, but his was never a rancorous or unpatriotic Whiggery, and he sacrificed a good deal to his principles. Mahan considers him to have shown on June 1st high tactical ability (although no originality), but far less sound strategy. It is pleasant to remember that one of his last recorded remarks gave enthusiastic praise to Nelson and his captains for the battle of the Nile.

WILLIAM PITT

FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM

(1708–1778)

statesman, was the younger son of Robert Pitt, of Boconnoc, Cornwall, and Harriett Villiers. His grandfather was the real founder of the fortunes of their (old) family ; after an adventurous and turbulent life in the East Indies, he had ended as a fighting Governor of Madras, and had brought home a considerable fortune. William's elder brother married into the Lyttelton family and became the father and grandfather of the two mad Lords Camelford, and it is but too clear that there was insanity in some form or other in the family. William was born in London, was at Eton with Fielding, Henry Fox, and Camden, went to Trinity, Oxford, at eighteen, and left without taking a degree. His scholarship was not of the first rank, but was sufficient to enable him to model the style of his speeches on Demosthenes and Thucydides, and he was fairly well read in poetry and in ancient and modern history. He became a cornet in a Cavalry regiment in 1731, and entered Parliament in 1735. It was for the borough of Old Sarum (which perhaps already had no inhabitants) that this early ' reformer ' first sat.

Pitt's is perhaps the most difficult career in English history to weigh in the scales of justice, and the difficulty is augmented by the fact that our standpoint has become such a very different one from that of his contemporaries. All moderns, of whatever way of thinking, do rightly hate bombast, theatrical oratory, and affectation. In all three of these Pitt was a sinner, and apparently not in the least ashamed of being so. His contemporaries did not as a whole hate these things ; and, of whatever way of thinking, they too were all united in regarding him as a man of transcendent genius and lofty patriotism. Most English historians have accepted their view : in his excellent little sketch of Pitt, Mr. Frederick Harrison calls him one of the four greatest



WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM

From the portrait after Richard Brompton in the National Portrait Gallery

statesmen since the Conquest. On the other hand, the malice of Dr. Ruville has seen in him the incarnation of the spirit of faction; and, though Ruville's portrait is impossible, intolerable, and based upon very partial study of evidence, it must be admitted that there are blots on the great man's scutcheon which to some extent give colour to the accusation. Any one who had died in the year 1755 might have been justified in treating Pitt simply as an adventurer, forcing his way to place and power by torrents of eloquence and by unpatriotic obstruction of every Government which refused to recognize him, as speaking ever to the gallery, destitute of logic, without grasp of realities, rude to his colleagues, eaten up with vanity, and with only one real virtue—clean hands. A very different view would have been taken by any one who knew only the next wonderful five years of that Ministry during which Pitt was to display, not only the most amazing courage, the magnetism which inspired and galvanized his countrymen, but also the grasp of the map of the world as a whole, with all the strategy, naval and military, that was necessary for the extension of the empire of Britain over that map—to display also an industry, a judgement of men, and an administrative talent of which he had given no previous earnest. And, again, if we can imagine a person ignorant of all that had gone before 1761, the obituary notice that he would write of the Earl of Chatham in 1778 might conceivably contain, alongside with praise of his wonderful oratory, such phrases as 'an impossible colleague', 'a wrecker of political combinations', 'a man either to the last degree selfish, or at best insane'. Such judgement would no doubt be profoundly unjust, but Chatham's life, and especially the last seventeen years of it, remains to be written¹—and to be explained.

There is less to explain, though much to regret, in his first twenty years of almost undiluted factiousness. It was cruel of Walpole, in opposition to whom Pitt made his *début*, to strike his name off the Army List, but it was an eminently Walpolean revenge. Pitt joined the 'Cobham Cousins' and the Grenvilles, his own connexions by

¹ This was written before the appearance of Mr. Basil Williams's new and convincing Life of Chatham.

marriage after his union with Hester Grenville, in attacking the Ministry on every possible occasion, most frequently for its policy of peace ; when Carteret had succeeded to Walpole, Pitt's was the loudest tongue in denouncing the policy of war, and he joined the Pelhams in their treachery against the man from whom in after years he acknowledged that he had learned his own European and Imperial politics. He ' alternately bullied and flattered ' Pelham till he forced that Minister to force the King (who hated him) to give him minor office (1746). As Paymaster he won splendid renown by refusing all perquisites and all interest from the money necessarily left lying in his hands ; and did thereby perform his first great service to his country, by laying the foundations of the principle that a statesman should have clean hands. But he ate all his own words about Hanover and foreign subsidies. When on Pelham's death in 1754 Newcastle became Premier, he did not promote either Pitt or Pitt's antagonist Fox, and the two at once combined to make his Ministry impossible. Newcastle bought over Fox very quickly ; Pitt could only be bought by giving him supreme power, and was dismissed instead, 1755. He was then almost penniless except for an allowance made to him by his brother-in-law Temple.

But now the man began to cast the slough of faction and to thunder in the ears of the Ministry that the defence of the realm was the one thing needful and the one thing entirely neglected ; the black year 1756 was upon us, and Pitt began to speak to a wider audience than Newcastle's venal House of Commons. In November he upset the Duke, and in December he won his own place as Secretary of State. Yet, in the spring of 1757, he failed to hold his own against the dislike of George II and against Newcastle's majority. The nation had now recognized him as the man of the hour, and in June he came back triumphant, omnipotent, with Fox, Newcastle, and George II in muzzles by his side, to fight the Seven Years' War and to win India and Canada for Great Britain. He was right when he declared ' I am sure that I can save this country ', and if the latter half of the sentence,

‘and that no one else can’, were an overstatement, at least it is true that no one else had yet appeared to do so. He was very ably supported by Anson at the Admiralty, and by the calm wisdom of old Lord Granville as President of the Council. Many of the details of his strategy were questionable, especially the series of raids upon the French coast; but even of these it must be remembered, that they paralysed the striking-arm of France in Germany. Frederick the Great was not a person who had hitherto shown himself a loyal ally to any one, but Pitt saw that he was in earnest this time, and he poured out money like water to back Frederick’s cause in Germany; the Army of Ferdinand of Brunswick was taken into English pay. There is neither need nor space here to speak of the enrolling of the Jacobite clans of the Highlands to fight for their old foe, nor to detail the series of victories in America, for which Pitt selected the Generals, nor those at sea, for which Anson provided the fleets; but it is a curious thing that Pitt strangely undervalued our greatest sailor of the day, Hawke. In 1760 Pitt foresaw, or got, through the agency of the old Jacobite Earl Marischal, knowledge of the imminent junction of France and Spain; and so, soon after George III’s accession, he proposed to strike at Spain without a declaration of war, and without being able to prove his knowledge of the coming treaty. Here he went too far, and his own colleagues became resolute against him. Newcastle, having gradually slipped his muzzle, began his old game of intrigue; Bute and George III wanted for other reasons to make a Peace; Pitt was very likely right in his proposed action, as he was certainly right in his foresight; but he was utterly wrong in allowing his own imperious temper to drive him to resignation without any attempt to persuade or manage his colleagues (1761).

From that hour it is another Pitt that meets our saddened view; a Pitt who lurks dramatically behind the scenes, or flashes meteorically in front of them, in a blaze of the old eloquence but without the old administrative powers. He might have returned to office in 1763, but he preferred to stand out and denounce the conduct of the Wilkes

business ; he might have done great service in 1765, but he would not combine with the honest narrow Rockingham, with whose principles, as regards the now looming American question, he was substantially in agreement. He came in again as Earl of Chatham in 1766-8, the nominal head of a ministry from whose councils he wholly withdrew himself, and from whose acts, on the rare occasions on which he allowed his voice to be heard in messages from his bedroom in the country, he ostentatiously dissociated himself. Whether it was mental disease or gout only that afflicted him, was never known ; but, once out of office again, his brain cleared and he denounced energetically the measures of those whom he had chosen as colleagues two years before. True, he still stood nobly outside ' parties ', and wanted, perhaps quite as much as George III, to break up the party system, but he had a group of ' friends ', the Temple-Grenville gang, who encouraged him in his eccentricities, and without whom he would seldom act ; Temple above all was his evil genius. His attitude on the American question was most illogical ; to grant independence was, he thought, to ' dismember this ancient monarchy ' ; and he would never have abandoned the loyalists if he had been at the helm when the war ended. But short of that he would have granted almost anything ; he would have allowed the colonies to shirk the contribution to the Imperial Exchequer, which, in some shape or other, they might have consented to give, but he yet wished to maintain the Acts of Navigation, which were the things against which they were really rebelling. It was his contemptuous ignorance of commerce and finance which led him into this anomalous position. Thus he poured out, in the House of Lords, splendid declamation about ' chains ', ' slavery ', and ' freedom ' ; and the disloyal colonists, who had been plotting rebellion for years, felt the full warmth of his encouragement, and to some extent honoured his name and his memory. The arch-rebel of all, the sleek traitor Benjamin Franklin, paid him a visit in 1774, and completely captivated him. And the result was that Chatham can with great difficulty be acquitted of having used, in the very crisis of the war, and in his last utterances in Parliament,

language which was a direct incentive to the rebels to continue their struggle. In this respect his mantle descended not to his own loved and noble son, but to that son's bitter foe, Charles James Fox. Yet, in one respect, North's Ministry might well have paid more attention to Chatham; to Chatham, as to his teacher Carteret, the House of Bourbon was the enemy, and long before 1778 Chatham had been prophesying what was to come, a repetition of 1761, with France and Spain combining against an England weighted with rebellion beyond seas, weighted also with a Germaine instead of a Pitt to direct its Army, a Sandwich instead of an Anson at the head of its Admiralty. It was good indeed that the great statesman's last words should have been words of scorn at the fears of a French invasion, and of refusal to listen to any suggestion of an independent America. He may be said to have died uttering them, for, though he only fainted in the House of Lords, he was carried home to die shortly afterwards.

It is also worth remembering that the two questions in home politics, which Chatham touched at all seriously, were the strengthening of the Militia, and a moderate Reform of the House of Commons from within 'lest it should be reformed with a vengeance from without'; finally, that his imperialistic beliefs led him to advocate, at least as early as 1766, the transference of the sovereignty of our Indian possessions from the East India Company to the Crown. Not the least of Chatham's services to his country was the training that he gave to his son William, who was to be great in such a totally different way from himself. It is hardly paradoxical to say that, of the two Pitts, each had tasks to perform and crises to meet for which the other would have been the more fit; could some good fairy have put the son where the father was in 1763, there might have been no revolt of America; and, could the same agency have given us the father for the son thirty years afterwards, the French Revolution might have been confined within the borders of France.

EDMUND BURKE

(1729-1797)

political philosopher, was the son of a Dublin Protestant lawyer and a Catholic mother ; he was educated by a Quaker schoolmaster, and at Trinity College Dublin (1743-8). His studies were wide but discursive, and perhaps somewhat desultory ; his powerful imagination always lacked the restraint that a training in Greek scholarship and philosophy might have afforded it, yet in thinking out political problems he came not far behind the Greeks themselves. In 1750 he went to London to read for the Bar, and we know practically nothing of his life for the next nine years, except that his father cut off his allowance and that he had to live by his pen. Hence came in rapid succession (1756) his *Vindication of Natural Society* and his *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, of which last it is interesting to record that Lessing and Kant thought highly. In the same year he made a happy marriage with the daughter of a physician. He was one of the earliest members of 'The Club', and retained the friendship of Johnson, Reynolds, and Garrick to the end of their lives. In 1759 he began to write, for Dodsley, the *Annual Register*, and continued to do so steadily for twenty-nine years, and perhaps to supervise the publication to the end of his life. In 1761 he became Secretary to William Gerard Hamilton, was in Ireland with him for two years, and began to interest himself in the fortunes of the Irish Catholics. Hamilton may have been a selfish man, and probably wished to exploit Burke's genius for his own use, but it would be interesting to have Hamilton's story of their quarrel of 1764, as well as Burke's. Hamilton had at least got him a pension, and had introduced him to statesmen. He became Rockingham's private secretary in 1765, and entered Parliament in that capacity. He here found a new cause to champion—that of the 'oppressed' Americans. In 1769 he wrote his *Observations on the*



EDMUND BURKE

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

Present State of the Nation. Nobody knows how Burke got the £22,000 to buy his estate near Beaconsfield ; indeed, nobody knows how he afterwards kept up that estate or on what he lived. Some people said that stock-jobbing was his main resource ; he lived long with a brother Richard and a kinsman William, who were certainly involved in shady transactions, and were ruined in the process. Burke was always in debt, and evidently thought too lightly of it—the name of ‘ Irish adventurer ’ always clung to him ; but, if he had been that in the bad sense, he would have made his fortune and grabbed at all places and pensions, and instead of doing this he showed an absolute contempt for such things. He was also, without a shred of evidence, long believed to be ‘ Junius ’, and this must be allowed some weight in estimating the history of his long unpopularity with statesmen on both sides.

Burke sat and voted with the Opposition through the ministries of Grafton and North, waxing ever hotter and hotter, now gaining great influence, now throwing away the fruits of his efforts by bombast, by want of tact, and, it must be admitted, by bad taste. His famous *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* appeared in 1770 ; Lord Morley calls it the most important political pamphlet since Swift’s *Conduct of the Allies*. In 1773 Burke’s lack of perspective led him to number the natives of India with those of Ireland and with the British North Americans among ‘ oppressed nationalities ’ ; he began his career in this field by denouncing Lord North’s very reasonable Regulating Act, and ended it as the instrument of Francis’s malice in denouncing and impeaching Hastings. Yet in the year of the former denunciation, 1773, when he went to France, his keen sense of the groundwork of all sound politics was horrified at the sight of the irreligion and the frivolity of a society ‘ dancing on a volcano ’. It is not that there were two Burkes, or that Burke blew now hot, now cold ; but the sad truth is that this great, wise, and even wisest, political philosopher lost all balance of judgement when the passion of ‘ humanity ’ stirred in his breast ; and it was far too easily stirred.

During this period Burke did much to keep the Whig party

together ; the Whig magnates acknowledged as much, though they never loved or trusted him, and never gave him a seat in their Cabinets. He is the sanest, the only sane, apologist for party government, but he upholds it on philosophical principles, not as a fighting creed. He sat for Bristol, on Bristol's own invitation, from 1774 till 1780, and resigned his seat there in the latter year rather than submit to be a ' delegate ' and to speak with the mouth of narrow-minded merchants ; this is not the least of his services to the true principles of parliamentary government, as opposed to democracy. His attitude to the American War can hardly be defended, although he never went the length of Fox in rejoicing at the defeats of British arms ; but there is very much to be said for his attitude to the American question itself. He strongly upheld the principle that the mother country is sovereign and has *legal* power to do anything to the colonists ; but declared it to be utterly inexpedient to tax them ; if necessary he would have reduced the bond to one of sentiment alone, though he believed that the Americans, if properly managed, would have voted some sort of subsidy to Britain. He little knew the American leaders. Yet his famous speeches on the subject in 1774 and 1775 are mines and quarries of political wisdom. His scheme for Economic Reform, in order to do away with parliamentary and political corruption, was brought forward in 1780, and, when the Whigs came in again in 1782, an instalment of it, though only an instalment, became law ; but Pitt learned much from it, and effected a good deal, during the first period of his ministry, on its lines. In this Government Burke held the office of Paymaster (1782), and, like the elder Pitt before him, refused to touch the perquisites of the office. No doubt Burke was much disappointed at not being in the Cabinet ; and, for some unexplained reason, on Rockingham's death he took the lead in breaking up the Government, and denounced his late colleague Shelburne with the most ungentlemanly violence. It was Burke, too, who had the main share in perpetrating—there is no other word for it—the Coalition between Fox and North, Burke who drafted Fox's India Bill and threw the game into the King's hands. If loyalty to party

should be a guiding principle, the Coalition was not only a hideous blunder but a complete breach of loyalty.

It is difficult to excuse Burke's opposition to Pitt's proposals towards free trade with Ireland in 1785 ; he had been an ardent supporter of the first steps in that direction at the end of North's Government, and of the grant of Home Rule in 1782. Lord Morley can only conclude that Burke ' allowed his political integrity to be bewildered '. It is a mild phrase. But all Burke's energies were now absorbed into the attack on Hastings, and it is a truly pitiable sight to watch his intellect and his heart prostituted to serve the private ends of Philip Francis ; yet to the end of his life Burke gloried in what he had done. In the Regency question, too, Burke was the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train, although it is to his credit that he ' knew nothing of the inside of Carlton House ' ; he even disliked and quite undervalued Sheridan, and it is believed that he now began, if ever so little, to draw away from Fox because Fox's friends felt that they could not promise him high office, should they again come in.

Suddenly, on this party strife, on the calm industry of the really liberal Pitt, the reckless intellect of the gambler Fox, and the unquiet temper of the mistrusted philosopher Burke, fell the French Revolution. Of these three, indeed of all men then living, Burke was the only one who, at once, saw what it meant—the break-up of the old order, the old Europe, the old world ; it meant the appeal to that ' natural society ' which he had mocked with such admirable satire thirty-three years before ; it would indefinitely arrest that steady and self-developing progress on those lines of precedent, that reverence for the past, which he held most dear. Having grasped this, Burke stopped not to think of consistency ; he flung party loyalty to the winds, and hurled before the delighted eyes of all European conservatives his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in October 1790. Alas ! he knew as little of that great old France that was toppling to ruin, as he knew of India or America ; and he understood as little that great new France that was to rise from the ashes of the old. He soon came to lump the ' men

of '89' with the men of '93, and would have hanged them all with the same rope. It was lucky that there was a Pitt at the helm, inefficient war-minister as he proved himself to be, to prevent England embarking upon the war in the spirit of a crusade. Not unnaturally, the British Radicals represented Pitt as being under the sway of Burke (which he never for one moment was), and believed the Burke-spirit to be the mainspring of our most just and necessary war.

Burke's action, of course, led to the final break-up of the Whig party; the name survived, as names still survive in English politics after they have lost their meaning. But henceforth there were two sections of the old party—the Radicals and the Liberals. The latter rallied in 1794 to Pitt, and to the cause, not of a crusade but of the interests of Great Britain, the foremost of which was the pacification of Europe. Pitt made effort after effort at this, but in vain. Burke only lived to see one of them, and he denounced that one in his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. But he undoubtedly did good service in drawing over the Old Whigs (as the new 'Liberals' must still be called) to the side of the Government, his friend Windham, who 'loved him like a son', being really the most important of the converts. With Fox his breach was personal and was final, in spite of the genial efforts of Fox to declare that it should not be either. Burke spent his last years largely at Beaconsfield, busy with charitable schemes for the relief of the French *émigrés* and with a European correspondence with kings, emperors, and foreign ministers, who flattered their champion to the mast-head; and Pitt was now at least able to procure for Burke a much-needed pension from the Crown to relieve his poverty and his extravagance. The death of his son Richard broke Burke's heart in 1794, and he died in the summer of 1797, denouncing the Revolution and all its works with his latest breath.

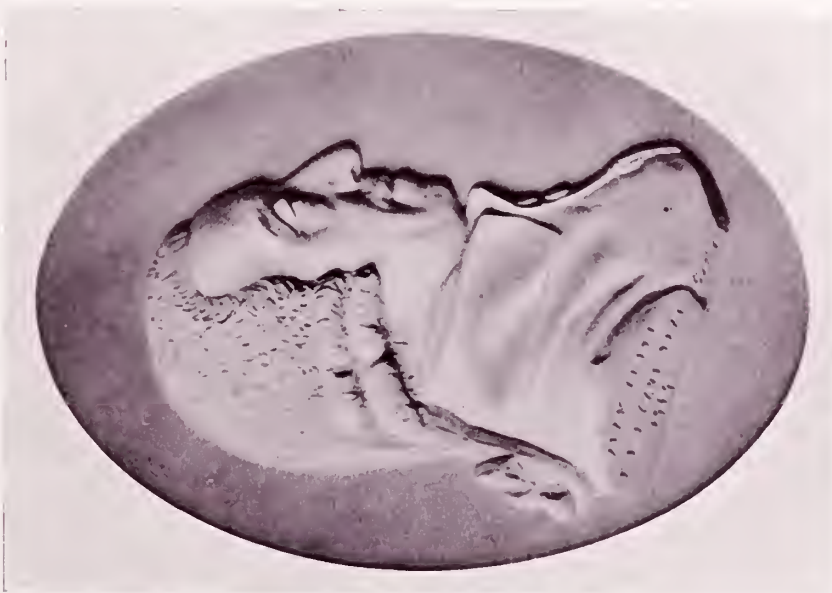
It is extremely difficult to pass judgement on this extraordinary man, or even to classify him. He can hardly be called a statesman, for, though the soundest principles of conservative and constructive statesmanship were in him, his temper or his ill-luck never allowed

them to ripen to fruit. It would be equally wrong to call him, as one calls Fox, a politician—that is, one who plays the game of politics either for its own sake or for personal ends. It would be easy to call him a man of letters ; his literary gifts, although he lacked the gift of humour, were enormous ; he could play upon the English language as a skilful violinist upon a Stradivarius and elicit from it every varied tone ; he had, moreover, at one time actually lived by his pen ; but he was a great deal more than a *littérateur*. As a talker Johnson thought him unrivalled (though not as a conversationalist, for he was not a good listener), and Goldsmith spoke of him as ‘ winding into a subject like a serpent ’. As an orator he was a manifest failure ; he had an exceedingly bad delivery, a bad voice and accent, and bad taste ; his speeches were pamphlets or books to be read and meditated over, but when delivered they were very apt to empty the House. Only, then, with a very small and very distinguished group of men can Burke be compared, with those few who have contributed to the world’s store of the greatest thoughts on one of the greatest of all subjects ; in ‘ Political Science ’ he must be accorded the highest honours, and may well be ranked with any but the greatest of the Greeks.

ADAM SMITH

(1723-1790)

founder of the Science of Political Economy, was the posthumous son of Adam Smith, a Writer to the Signet, who had become controller of the Customs at Kirkcaldy in Fife ; his mother was Margaret Douglas, of Strathendry in the same county. He was educated at the burgh school of Kirkcaldy and at the University of Glasgow, whence he proceeded, with a Snell Exhibition, to Balliol. He remained at Oxford for six years, and laid deep and wide the foundations of his great learning. On his return to Scotland in 1746 he was patronized by Lord Kames, who induced him to give at Edinburgh in 1748 a course of lectures on rhetoric and letters. These attracted hearers and brought some profit to their reader, who obtained successively in 1751 and 1752 the chairs of Logic and Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, where he spent thirteen happy years ; during this time he began to study economic problems in a new light. He lived in the College, and his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, kept house for him. He was an admirably successful lecturer, served in succession all the regular College offices, and endeared himself to his pupils and to many of his fellow professors. Among his warm friends was David Hume ; and Smith, who no doubt shared to some extent Hume's philosophical sentiments, acted on more than one occasion as a drag on their publication, from fear of offending the orthodox clergy. He frequently visited Edinburgh, and was a member, with Hume, both of its learned societies and its social clubs. As Professor of Moral Philosophy he published in 1759 his now forgotten but elegant *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which was received with applause in England as well as in Scotland, and led to his first visit to London in 1761. It was upon this visit that he met Johnson at the house of his own publisher Mr. Strahan, when some sort of disagreement evidently took place between them. Johnson did not afterwards



ADAM SMITH, F.R.S.

From the plaster-cast in the National Portrait Gallery
of the medallion by James Tassie



JOHN WILKES

From the drawing by Richard Earlom in the National Portrait Gallery

like to talk of it, and Boswell failed to draw out of him more than the statement that he and Smith 'did not take to each other'. No doubt the quarrel, if quarrel there was, was about Hume's philosophy; there are several versions of the story, the worst of which Croker was able to prove by comparison of dates to have been impossible; Smith would hardly have sought and obtained election to 'The Club' in 1775 if he had remained for long a bitter enemy of Johnson's.

In 1763 Smith resigned his Glasgow chair and travelled as tutor with the young Duke of Buccleuch (Scott's Duke) to Paris, Toulouse, and Geneva, 1764-6. Hume was in Paris at the time of their long visit, and procured for Smith introductions to all the lively and intellectual society of the French capital. Much has been made of the influence exercised upon the mind of Smith by the 'physiocratic' school of French economists, then represented by Quesnai and Turgot; this influence may easily be overrated, for Smith was never a physiocrat. The view, afterwards expressed in his great work, that 'Nature helps the agriculturist as she helps no one else', was probably arrived at independently; it may not respond to orthodox theory, as afterwards expounded by Mill, but, like some others of Smith's so-called heterodoxies, it responds admirably to plain common sense. Smith, though we can well imagine that he sifted all doctrines before accepting them, was no doubt attracted by some of the shallow philosophy of the French encyclopaedists; to say this is only to say that he was a man of his own time. He returned to Scotland in 1766 and took up his abode at Kirkcaldy, where for ten years he laboured steadily at his great work, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which first appeared in 1776 and went through five editions in the author's lifetime. The Duke of Buccleuch remained his warm friend. A pension of £300 a year had been settled on him when he undertook his tutorship, and in 1778 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Customs for Scotland. The work was evidently not onerous, and the salary was £600 a year. Smith was able to pay frequent visits to Edinburgh (whither he removed his dwelling in 1777) and to London; and it was upon one of the latter

visits that Pitt, meeting him at Dundas's table, refused to sit down before him, ' for ', said the great Minister, ' we are all your scholars ' ; this was in 1787. Lord North was the first of these scholars, and began to apply to public finance some of the maxims on taxation and free trade laid down in the *Wealth of Nations*. Hume just lived to see and welcome the publication of the book, and made Smith his own literary executor ; a letter, appended by Smith to Hume's autobiography, describing the philosopher's calmness on his death-bed, gave great offence to the orthodox. Pitt far exceeded North in his indebtedness to the *Wealth of Nations* ; his proposed measures for Irish free trade, his systematic reduction and consolidation of the customs duties, his commercial treaties with America and France, were founded upon its practical and luminous wisdom. Fox praised the book, but admitted that he had never read it and could never understand Political Economy—a confession which will cause no surprise to students of Fox's career.

Smith's mother died, hard upon ninety, in 1784 ; in 1787 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow, and in 1790 he died. Those only who have tried to read other books upon Political Economy, and especially the works of Smith's leading exponents, Ricardo, McCulloch, and Mill, can realize the whole merit of the *Wealth of Nations*. It has been objected that the book lacks references to authorities, and is deficient in arrangement, and both these objections are true. But they cannot spoil the charm of the perfect style, nor obscure the penetrating insight into human nature, nor the vast historical knowledge of the author. As a discoverer of simple truths long hidden at the bottom of the primaeval wells of ignorance, Smith stands alone ; it is thanks to him that we can apprehend that wealth does not consist in gold and silver, which are only articles of commerce and a medium of exchange ; it is thanks to him that our grandfathers and fathers apprehended the futility of laying governmental restrictions on the freedom of trade and labour, which their more foolish or more timid sons are now, at the bidding of those who will be the first sufferers by the reimposition, seeking to reimpose. Only in one disastrous direction did the last generation of states-

men deliberately go beyond Smith and neglect his warning ; it was of the Act which required British ships to be manned by British sailors that Smith wrote that ' as defence is of more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England '. One of his latest editors, Thorold Rogers, characteristically called this warning a ' deference to municipal prejudice '.

JOHN WILKES

(1727-1797)

demagogue, was the son of a rich London distiller, was educated privately and at the University of Leyden, made a rich marriage, separated from his wife, and became an accomplished rake and wit and a member of the Medmenham brotherhood. He entered Parliament for the Whig borough of Aylesbury in 1757, and became notorious, at the date of the negotiations for peace, by a series of attacks on Lord Bute and on other persons in the Court and Ministry in more than one pamphlet before the appearance of the *North Briton* in June 1762. The celebrated ' No. 45 ' of this paper accused the Ministry, and by implication the young King, of telling a lie in the King's Speech. A general warrant was issued for the arrest of the authors, printers, and publishers of this libel, and the first great question in the famous ' Wilkes's Case ' was on the legality of general warrants. Wilkes was sent to the Tower, and the second great question arose when he pleaded his privilege as a member of Parliament, on which Pratt, C.J., ordered his release. He forthwith brought against the Secretary of State an action of which the trial was delayed until 1769. The next point was the bringing before Parliament by Lord Sandwich, an old friend of Wilkes's Medmenham days, now Secretary of State, of a new obscene libel called an ' Essay on Woman ' ; and at the same time ' No. 45 ' was

ordered to be burned by the hangman. Could privilege of Parliament cover seditious libels? The House, usually so tenacious of its privileges, decided that it could not. Wilkes fled to Paris at the end of 1763, and the House answered by expelling him from its membership. Thus the third, and perhaps the most important, of the questions raised by his case was on the table, and at the same time he had been convicted of libel in the Law Courts, Mansfield being the judge. As he did not present himself to receive sentence, the Court could only put him out of law, and an outlaw he remained for four years.

During this self-imposed exile Wilkes, who was a man of wide reading and could be a delightful companion, was well received in the sceptical *salons* in Paris: he travelled to Italy (where he met Boswell), made in 1766 two hasty and secret visits to London, and finally returned thither for good in 1768, resolved to fight his case through to the end. Grafton's (nominally still Chatham's) Government was extremely unpopular, and Wilkes, who was already a favourite not only with the mob, but with all the Government's enemies in the City, was elected member for Middlesex, surrendered to his outlawry, and was committed to gaol. The famous 'Wilkes Riots' of that year, 1768, were the result, and a fourth question was added to the list of those standing to his name, concerning the lawfulness of the use of the soldiery to disperse a riot before the Riot Act had been read. Twelve years later, when London was for three days in the hands of a mob, Wilkes took a very different view of the matter, and displayed great courage in helping to disperse the Gordon rioters. Wilkes in 1768 received sentence of a heavy fine and imprisonment on the old conviction of 1764, against which he appealed in vain. He added a petition, on all the points connected with his case, to the House of Commons, and issued a fresh libel in a newspaper concerning the use of the soldiery. The result was a fresh expulsion from the House; after a second re-election by his Middlesex constituents, Wilkes was declared incapable of election. But at the end of 1769 he at last obtained heavy damages on his long-deferred action against Lord Halifax, who had been Secretary of State when

the general warrant was issued ; he had already been elected an alderman of London, and large subscriptions by his supporters had made him for a time a comparatively rich man ; but he never could keep money in his purse and eventually died insolvent. In 1771, as alderman and magistrate, he maintained the freedom of the City, and incidentally the right of publishing debates in Parliament, by committing to prison a messenger of the House sent to arrest the printer of these debates. He served as Sheriff in 1771-2, as Lord Mayor in 1774-5. When at the election of 1774 he was again returned for Middlesex, Lord North's Government, which had hitherto been as implacable towards him as Grafton's, owned itself to be beaten and allowed him to take his seat, but it was not until Rockingham came in that all the proceedings against him were expunged from the journals of the House. Unquestionably he had raised questions of real value to the liberty of the subject, such as that of the legality of general warrants ; he had exposed the unsatisfactory state of the law of libel, and vindicated the right of the electors to choose their own member of Parliament. But the means he had employed to obtain these ends must be for ever regretted ; though Wilkes himself was no mob-orator, he had undoubtedly brought the mob into conflict with the law, and initiated the baleful practice of bringing pressure from without and below to bear upon the Legislature. The Wilkes riots celebrated the ignoble birthday of Radicalism. In Parliament Wilkes soon settled down into a not intemperate member of the regular Opposition. He was of course hostile to the American War, but he brought forward a very sensible and moderate Bill for the reform of Parliament, and voted for the Dissenting Ministers' Relief Act. He opposed the Coalition in 1783, and supported Pitt's Ministry in all its early measures except the unjust impeachment of Hastings. He used to assert that, in the days when the mob went about roaring ' Wilkes and Liberty ', he himself had ' never been a Wilkite ', and it is extremely probable that he repented, earlier than he liked to admit, of his own popularity. Under the demagogue lay always the would-be fine gentleman, under the rake the man with some real taste for letters.

It was this, as well as Johnson's real native courtesy, which made possible the dinner-party at Mr. Dilly's, in the Poultry in 1776, at which 'Mr. Wilkes was very assiduous in helping Johnson to some fine veal', Johnson's look of surly virtue changed in a short while to one of complacency, and the strange pair made merry together against the Scots. It is a sad commentary on this pleasant scene that Wilkes not long afterwards in Parliament bracketed Johnson and Shebbeare as 'two State hirelings called pensioners'.

WILLIAM MURRAY

FIRST EARL OF MANSFIELD

(1705-1793)

Lord Chief Justice, was a younger son of the fifth Lord Stormont and of Margery Scott. He was born at the ancient crowning place of the Scottish kings, Scone Abbey, educated at Westminster and Christ Church, where he became one of the most elegant scholars of the age, and was called to the Bar in 1730. He took silk and entered the House of Commons, with a legal reputation already well established, twelve years later. He was also an ornament of literary society. Prior mentions him as 'drinking champagne among the wits', and Pope dedicated his *Imitations of Horace* to him. He was at once made Solicitor-General, and was a strong supporter of several successive Governments. The spectacle of a Scotsman, who was at least not of Whig origin, leading for the Crown at the trials of the Jacobites in 1746-7, is not a particularly edifying one; Murray did not really add to his reputation thereby. In the House of Commons from 1742 till 1756 he could measure his strength with Pitt, and by no means without success, for there was no province of law, letters, or economics to the



WILLIAM MURRAY, FIRST EARL OF MANSFIELD, K.T.

From the portrait by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the National
Portrait Gallery



CHARLES PRATT, FIRST EARL CAMDEN

From a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to the
Marquess of Camden at Bayham

exposition of which his silver-tongued eloquence and logical mind were unequal. In 1754 he was promoted Attorney-General, and was Newcastle's sole prop in the Lower House. He refused all offers of reward except the one on which his heart was set, the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench. For this he was supremely fitted, and in this office he rendered the greatest services to English law and braved the greatest unpopularity. Twice he refused the Great Seal, but when, during its vacancy, he was obliged to act as Speaker of the Lords, he filled that office with great dignity. Twice also he filled, during temporary vacancies, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He remained nominally a member of several successive Cabinets, but it seems that he sat hardly at all after the close of George Grenville's administration, although it is possible that North, with whose measures against America he was in entire sympathy, frequently consulted him. In politics proper he took, after his elevation, very little part, and if his judgements in the several steps of the Wilkes case were in favour of prerogative, they were based entirely upon precedents and were uninfluenced by his native Toryism. He cannot fairly be accused of straining the law, though Wilkes went so far as to accuse him of 'subverting' it, and 'Junius' directed his most poisoned arrows against him, charging him especially with importing the Civilian doctrines into English Law. Mansfield strongly held to the view that the only province of a jury on libel cases is to decide the fact of publication, and he ordered a new trial after the special verdict returned in the famous case of *Rex versus Woodfall*. When Mansfield was obliged to tread the narrow edge between precedent and principle, his judgements showed him to be no shirker of responsibility. Most famous of all is perhaps his decision in 1771 in the case of the negro James Somersett, that slavery cannot exist in Great Britain. In the case of *Campbell versus Hall* in 1774 he deprived the Crown of its powers of legislation by Order in Council over a colony to which a legislative assembly had been granted. In *Fabrigas versus Mostyn* he extended, by an ingenious fiction, the benefits of the Common Law to an island still nearer home ;

Minorca might ' lie in the middle sea ', but for legal purposes it should be deemed to be

within the ward of Chepe to wit,
And St. Mary-le-Bow to prosper it.

In the case of *Vertue versus* Lord Clive he determined the status of military officers with regard to their commissions. In spite of the fact that the Protestant mob of London had entirely wrecked his house and destroyed his library in the Gordon Riots, he presided with conspicuous fairness at the trial of Gordon himself. His services to Mercantile Law, in a long list of decided cases, were invaluable. Very rarely were his judgements questioned or reversed ; the most famous instance is that on the law of perpetual copyright, in favour of which he had pronounced in 1769 ; in 1774, by a majority of one, this was reversed in the House of Lords.

Mansfield received his earldom in 1776, and resigned his office of Chief Justice in his eighty-third year ; he lived for five years longer, at his residence at Caen Wood, near Hampstead, and died of old age. He was extraordinarily courteous and elegant in address ; Boswell speaks of his ' air and manner which none who ever saw or heard him can forget '. Johnson, though he had never met him, had the greatest admiration for him, and would not allow to Scotland the credit of having produced him, ' for he was educated in England ; much can be made of a Scotchman if he be *caught* young '.

CHARLES PRATT FIRST EARL CAMDEN

(1714-1794)

Lord Chancellor, son of a Whig Chief Justice, was at Eton and King's, and was called to the Bar in 1738. His first office was that of Attorney-General in the elder Pitt's great Ministry, 1757; his next the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas in 1761. He maintained, in the teeth of the Ministry, in the several actions arising out of Wilkes's case, the old legal and constitutional view that general warrants are illegal, and, in the teeth of the Commons, laid down that privilege of Parliament should be allowed to cover libel; the former of these doctrines was upheld by Parliament in 1766. Pratt got his peerage in 1765, denounced the Stamp Act, and became Chancellor (1766-70) in the Administration which was nominally Chatham's; but, like Grafton, he somewhat ostentatiously ignored all proceedings of his colleagues which were directed against America, as well as those directed against Wilkes; and, when Chatham reappeared, and denounced what the Ministry had been doing both before and after his own resignation, Camden followed his lead and was, in consequence of this, deprived of the Chancellorship. He held no further office till he became Lord President in Rockingham's Ministry, 1782; this post he retained under Shelburne and under the younger Pitt from 1784 until his death. During the interval he had been a steady, if not very active, opponent of North, and a weighty lawyer on appeal cases in the House of Lords. He became Earl Camden in 1786, supported Pitt with his legal acumen in the Regency question, 1788, and, on a subject which he had made peculiarly his own, contributed to the passing of that Libel Act with which the name of Fox is honourably associated. He was the father of that Marquis Camden who had to face, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the terrible situation of 1797-8.

Strong as a lawyer, and a worthy rival of his great contemporary Mansfield, Camden was weak as a statesman. It was not that his ideas were not clear, for, as he himself wrote at the end of his life to Burke (in warm praise of the *Appeal from the New Whigs to the Old Whigs*), his principles were 'Old Whig' and consistent; but he lacked courage to stand by them if by so doing he might risk loss of office. And so he became the timid counsellor of each ministry with which he was associated.

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE

(1723-1780)

Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, came of a Wiltshire family, his father being a prosperous London tradesman; he was born in Cheapside, educated at Charterhouse and Pembroke College, Oxford, and elected a fellow of All Souls in 1744. He was a good classical scholar, something of a poet, well read in English literature, and was called to the Bar in 1746. He had not a great practice, but got the Recordership of Wallingford, and passed much of his life in the College of which he was an excellent Steward and Bursar. He also did much to reform the (then) inefficient administration of the Clarendon Press. In his thirtieth year, being disappointed of the Chair of Civil Law, for which he had been recommended to the Crown, he began, at the suggestion of the Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Mansfield, to deliver a course of lectures on English Law, and these were so successful that he became the first occupant of the newly founded Vinerian Professorship in 1758. His success also brought him practice, a seat in the House of Commons, and the Headship of New Inn Hall, Oxford, 1761. The first volume of the *Commentaries on the Laws of England* appeared in 1765, being the enlarged substance of his lectures, the fourth and final volume came in 1769, and edition after edition followed down to the middle of the



SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
in the National Portrait Gallery



CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH, SECOND
MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM, K.G.

From a portrait painted in the school of Sir Joshua
Reynolds, in the National Portrait Gallery



JOHN STUART, THIRD EARL OF BUTE

From the whole-length portrait by Sir J. Reynolds,
P.R.A., in the possession of the Earl of
Wharnccliffe, R.N., at Wortley Hall



JOHN MONTAGU, FOURTH EARL
OF SANDWICH

From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough
in the Gallery at Greenwich Hospital

Face p. 226

nineteenth century. It was the first time that English Law had been made readable and intelligible to the lay mind. The book was quoted in the Courts, and treated almost as an authority. The rising tide of the appeal to 'Natural Rights' as against precedent, which foreshadowed and accompanied the French Revolution, led the new school of jurists, headed by Bentham and Austen, to discredit the work as having in it no 'original philosophy of Law'—a property which its author might well have asked his critics to define. Blackstone was not, indeed, a great Civilian, and did not pretend to be; he was only the most lucid and harmonious expositor of the English Systems that ever lived. The latest historian of the subject says that the Commentaries 'summed up and passed on the Common Law, as developed mainly by the work of the legal profession, before it was remodelled by direct legislation'.

Blackstone retired from his Professorship and Headship in 1766, and was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1770. He was not by any means a great judge, being unfitted by temperament and habit for quick decisions. He spent the last twenty years of his life with his family in a house which he built at Wallingford, and which still stands with its lawn sloping to the river. His fine statue by Bacon in the Library of All Souls seems to dominate that magnificent room, to the enrichment of whose shelves he largely contributed; if it is true that in his later life he became both irritable and heavy, it is certain that during the eighteen years spent in his beloved College he was the most genial and delightful of companions.

CHARLES WATSON-WENTWORTH SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM

(1730-1782)

twice First Lord of the Treasury, was the son of the first Marquis and of Mary Finch, daughter of the second Earl of Nottingham. He was the great-grandson of Strafford's daughter Anne, and the Wentworth name and the Yorkshire estates came to this honest Whig mediocrity from his famous ancestor. He was educated at Westminster and at St. John's, Cambridge, and succeeded to his Marquisate, while still a minor, in 1750. As a stout Whig he was involved in the proscription of 1764, and dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of his county. His character rather than his talents brought him in 1765 to the headship of the Administration which was signalized by the repeal of Grenville's Stamp Act and by the Act Declaratory of the Supremacy of the Mother Country over the Colonies. If a private secretary could have rendered a minister illustrious, Burke was Rockingham's secretary, and was brought into Parliament for one of his boroughs. The ministry was dismissed, at the end of one year of office, in the summer of 1766. In opposition Rockingham was of slight account, and, though highly respected by all sections of Whigs, was quite unable to keep them united. During North's Ministry he drew more to the side of Chatham than before, and opposed all the measures for the 'coercion' of America. He supported all motions for the independence of the Colonies, for concessions to the rising spirit of Ireland, and for economic reform. Thus, on the fall of North, he was marked out as a conciliatory person to head a Government pledged to carry out some of these things, and he accepted the Treasury again in March 1782. He died in July of the same year, having carried a portion of Burke's scheme of economic reform; and having repealed, as regarded Ireland, the statutes known as Poynings Act and 6 George I, which had fettered the Irish Parliament. He was passionately devoted to horse-racing.

JOHN MONTAGU FOURTH EARL OF SANDWICH

(1718-1792)

the descendant of Edward, first Earl, the great seaman of the Commonwealth and Restoration, succeeded his grandfather, the third Earl, in 1729. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, joined the 'Bedford group' of Whigs when he entered political life in 1739, became a Lord of the Admiralty in 1744, and negotiated the unsatisfactory Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle four years later. He had then just become First Lord of the Admiralty (1748-51). In 1763-5 he was Secretary of State, and in this capacity came athwart John Wilkes; the fact that he had been an associate of Wilkes in the less reputable sphere of a licentious convivial club, and now betrayed and prosecuted Wilkes for libel, led to the nickname of 'Jemmy Twitcher' (a 'peach' in the *Beggars' Opera*) being fastened upon him; and it is as 'Jemmy Twitcher' that Sandwich is known in history. North employed him in his old post as First Lord of the Admiralty, and unfortunately for his country he held this office for almost the whole of North's long ministry (1771-82). There may have been and, under our strange system of government, may be again, worse administrators of the Navy; there never was one who succeeded in attracting to himself such universal opprobrium. At the same time all attempts, and there were many, to prove Sandwich's own hands to have been soiled by bribes, failed; what was criminal in him was that he filled all the dockyards, and many of the commands, with commissaries and officers appointed for political reasons only. He sold his country for parliamentary votes, and the weakness of our Navy in the American War was the result. The 'state of things' in the dockyards disclosed by Pitt's Commission of Inquiry in 1783 was appalling. The one great

sailor who prospered in the American War, Rodney, was appointed in Sandwich's teeth by the personal interference of King George ; indeed, there were cases of officers who refused commands rather than serve under such a First Lord.

JOHN STUART THIRD EARL OF BUTE

(1713-1792)

son of James, second Earl, and of Anne Campbell, daughter of the first Duke of Argyll, was the notorious favourite, and for a brief time the minister, of George III in his early years. He was a man of culture, both literary and scientific, and to culture he added considerable knowledge of subjects then little studied, such as botany ; he could make himself extremely agreeable in several strata of society, nor is there any good ground for questioning his uprightness in private life. Although, as his mother-in-law, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wrote of him, 'his decent economy sets him above that silly splendour which makes a man a prey to knaves', he always maintained the state of a 'liberal and polite nobleman', and desired to pose as such before his contemporaries and posterity. Unfortunately he entirely lacked stability of character, and this became manifest directly he embarked upon public life.

A chance introduction to Frederick Prince of Wales in 1747 led to his being appointed to a leading position in the household of that foolish person, and on Frederick's death Bute became the prime favourite of the strong-willed Princess of Wales, and thereby the political tutor of the future King George III. In this last capacity his influence was not for the best. Bute fostered, both before and after

the accession of his pupil, George's laudable desire to be freed from the dictatorship of the Whig Oligarchy, but he also suggested much of the far less laudable means which the young King took to effect his purpose, namely, the extensive corruption of the House of Commons ; the all-round system of bribery and dismissals, by which the Peace with France (itself a righteous objective) was brought about ; and the desertion of the Prussian alliance. The details of Bute's underground schemes for these ends, whether as an official in the Royal Household (1760), Secretary of State (1761), or First Lord of the Treasury (1762-3), are most unsavoury, and gave the King a reputation for lack of straightforwardness which it took him years to live down. It is only fair to Bute to say that, when he conceived himself to have attained the first of his great objects, the Peace with France, he was eager to lay down, and did at once lay down, the office for which he found himself quite unfitted. The very man, George Grenville, whom he had recommended as his successor, insisted on his dismissal from the King's *entourage* ; and, from 1765 at least, he seems to have had no political and little personal communication with George III, of whose ingratitude he never afterwards ceased to complain.

His unpopularity was great ; he was one of the earliest victims of Wilkes's scurrility and of the gambollings of the London mob which was at Wilkes's call. To burn a ' Jack Boot ' together with a petticoat in the streets was to allude to a supposed intrigue between the handsome Scottish Earl and the King's mother, of the real existence of which no evidence is forthcoming.

Bute was never a peer of the United Kingdom, but in several Parliaments, though with one long interval, he sat in the House of Lords as a representative peer of Scotland. His later years were spent in learned leisure and in the collection of books, objects of natural history, and engravings.

EDWARD GIBBON

(1737-1794)

historian, was the grandson of a director of the South Sea Company, and by his grandmother's side a connexion of the Cornish Eliots. His father was a fairly prosperous Tory member of Parliament, who eventually settled as a country gentleman in Hampshire; his mother was the daughter of James Porten, of Putney. 'Time or their own obscurity has cast a veil of oblivion over the virtues and vices of my Kentish ancestors', said Gibbon in his own immortal autobiography, but his pride only aped humility, and delighted in recording the name of John Gibbon, 'Marmorarius or Architect to Edward III'. He was a very delicate child, and was brought up by an aunt, to whom he was tenderly attached. She kept a boarding-house for Westminster School, and Gibbon entered the school in 1749, but his health precluded any regularity of attendance. After that, he was for a short time a pupil of that rather scandalous father of a most scandalous son, Philip Francis, senior, but was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, as a gentleman-commoner, in 1752. He was not quite fifteen, but had already a voracious appetite for literature, and especially for history. 'The apparent order and tranquillity that prevail in the seats of the English Muses' did not appeal to Gibbon, who found the 'fourteen months he spent at Magdalen the most idle and unprofitable of his whole life'. 'The deep and dull potations' of the dons 'excused the brisk intemperance of youth'—how often have these, and many like words of Gibbon's, been quoted! Indeed, the number of happy phrases, since grown into the commonplaces of everyday speech, of which he was the first coiner, is very great. Gibbon found it easy to get leave for jaunts to London, easy to run up debts, easy to join the Church of Rome (June 1753). This last freak, however, was too much for his father, who took him away from Oxford, and, after trying one antidote



EDWARD GIBBON

From the portrait by Henry Walton in the National Portrait Gallery

in the shape of a little infidelity (judiciously administered to the young patient by Bolingbroke's editor, Mallet) ended by packing him off to a Calvinist pastor at Lausanne in Switzerland, with the result that, at the end of 1754, Gibbon was again as good a Protestant as he ever became. At Lausanne began his acquaintance with his lifelong friend Deyverdun, and his flirtation with Suzanne Curchod, afterwards Madame Necker, to whom, it must be admitted, he behaved rather abominably a few years afterwards. It seems, however, that it was always the lady, rather than the gentleman, who was of 'a coming-on disposition', and yet it could be by no charms of person that Gibbon can have fascinated her. He returned to England in 1758, and found a stepmother, to whom he afterwards became warmly attached, installed at his father's house. Father and son joined Pitt's embodied militia in their Hampshire regiment, in which Gibbon afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel. In his earlier capacity as Captain, Gibbon became acquainted with Wilkes, who was Colonel of the Bucks regiment; two such phenomenally ugly men may have been attracted to each other by the same cause as brought Anthony Gardiner's two famous midshipmen to a friendship, but a common taste for literature may also have counted for much, and to a person who loved good conversation Jack Wilkes was always excellent company.

Gibbon now resolved to become an author, and to be one on the grand scale, but it was not until his visit to Rome in 1764 that, while musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, he settled upon his subject. It must be remembered that his life had hitherto been one of steady preparation for historical work, by an unexampled range of reading in French, Greek, Latin, and English, and that he possessed by nature the very highest critical and linguistic gifts. Several other literary projects, to be executed either in French or in English, were taken up, and one or two small things were published before his father's death in 1770. This event made him, though never a rich, yet a fairly prosperous and independent man; he liked social as well as literary success, and became a member of 'The Club' in 1774. Boswell has much to say

about him, but all of it, owing to Gibbon's covert sneers at religion, is unfavourable, though Johnson was probably speaking in mockery when he remarked 'it is said that he has once been a Mahometan'. Gibbon, for his part, scarcely mentions Johnson in his writings. Boswell thought 'ridicule might fairly be used against an infidel; for instance, if he be an ugly fellow and yet absurdly vain of his person'—the hit at Gibbon is manifest. And it is quite probable that Gibbon, who undoubtedly liked to be considered the first person in any society he talked in, felt in Johnson's presence the same timidity which afterwards kept him silent in Parliament; once, when the Club talked of bears, and Johnson remarked that the 'black bear was said to be innocent, but he should not like to trust himself with him', the historian was heard to mutter, 'I should not like to trust myself with *you*'. Gibbon entered Parliament, for one of the Eliot boroughs, in 1774, and supported North steadily, if silently, throughout his ministry, receiving in return the comfortable sinecure of a seat on the Board of Trade, which added considerably to his income, in 1779. In 1783 he settled again at Lausanne, shared a house with his old friend Deyverdun, and retained it after his friend's death.

All soreness between Gibbon and his old sweetheart had long vanished before she became famous as the wife of the French minister Necker; he visited the Neckers at Paris when they were at the height of prosperity, and received them at Lausanne with open arms when the *grande vague qui va m'engloutir*, little understood but long foreseen by Necker, had opened into a gaping gulf and swallowed them and old France up. Another warm friend was Lord Sheffield, whom Gibbon, when in England, constantly visited in Sussex; and it was on hearing of Lady Sheffield's death that he hastened to England early in 1793 on what proved to be his last visit. He died quite suddenly in the following January.

The first volume of the great *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared in 1776, and took the world by storm. Hume could not believe that an Englishman could have written it. Adam

Smith declared it raised its author to the first place in European literature. It was not only a source of immortal fame, but, as few great historical works have been, a source also of immediate profit to the author as well as to the publisher. The smooth and balanced periods of the style commended it to its age ; the learning, the accuracy, the philosophical outlook, commend it to whatever is best in every age. The actual creed, which this philosophical outlook was made to illustrate, mattered very little then and matters less now ; and even that absurd, dry, sarcastic, and infinitely tedious creed seldom led the author into any startling historical injustice. The later volumes were written at greater speed than the earlier, but not with less care or less deliberation, and the final instalment appeared in print in 1788. Twelve years had thus sufficed for the writing, fifty-one years (for Gibbon, we may be sure, began to acquire knowledge in his cradle) for the preparation, of the greatest historical work since that of Thucydides. Lord Sheffield edited soon after his friend's death the first instalment of his *Miscellaneous Works*, and reprinted this with very large additions, including Gibbon's *Memoir of my Life and Writings* (really one of the most perfect autobiographies in the world), in 1814. It is difficult to believe that the *Decline and Fall* can ever die, and it can certainly never grow stale or be treated as commonplace ; there is not a civilized language into which it has not been translated, and there are versions of it even in those languages of Eastern Europe which the purer taste of the eighteenth century would have classed as barbarian. Finally, Gibbon's *History* shares, with Shakespeare alone, the strange fate of having been bowdlerized by Thomas Bowdler himself ; in 1826 it appeared in six volumes, ' for the use of Families and Young Persons, reprinted from the original text, with careful omissions of all passages of an irreligious or immoral tendency '.

HORACE WALPOLE

FOURTH EARL OF ORFORD

(1717-1797)

man of letters, was the youngest child of Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl, and of Catherine Shorter ; he was born in London, and educated at Eton and King's, at both of which, without becoming a really good scholar, he displayed great taste for literature, and made many warm friends, including the poet Gray ; with Gray he travelled to France and Italy, 1739-41. They parted in some disagreement on the return journey, but Walpole afterwards believed himself to have been wholly in the wrong, and a reconciliation ensued a few years later. Comfortable but, considering the habits of the age and of Sir Robert, not extravagantly rich, sinecures attached to the mysterious offices of the ' Pipe ' and the ' Estreats ', helped to make Horace a well-to-do person. He was also a Collector of the Customs and an Usher of the Exchequer ; the opening and shutting of the door of the latter establishment and the inspection of bills of lading at the former were no doubt performed by deputies, if performed at all. Until his father's death Horace resided with him, whether at Houghton, of the dreariness of which he often complained, or in Downing Street or Arlington Street, London. To the memory of his mother, who died in 1737, he was tenderly attached, but his loyalty to his father prevented his complaining openly of the mistress who immediately replaced her as Sir Robert's wife. One of the stoutest things about Horace, whose own interest in politics was very slight, was his constant and open championship of his father, both in life and after death. He sat in the House of Commons from his youth upwards till 1768, but one does not ask how he voted, or when or whether he represented Castle Rising or King's Lynn. His real taste was towards letters, painting, and ' curiosities ' ; he had the passion of a collector and the instinct of a wise one.



HORACE WALPOLE, FOURTH EARL OF ORFORD

From the drawing by George Dance, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

It is now thoroughly recognized that his taste was, with some aberrations, sound, and, what is more, it was original. He inaugurated the fashion, which was no doubt carried to too great lengths, of admiring Italian art and studying the works of Italian artists. His early ventures in authorship, in which he always wished to be regarded wholly as an amateur, were light 'Epistles' and *jeux d'esprit*; but his elaborate description of the pictures of Houghton, published under the title of *Aedes Walpolianiae* in 1747, showed that he possessed no mere amateur's hand. In that year he acquired his cottage at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, where he spent the best part of his life in planting and embellishing the grounds, and building the most absurd additions in the 'Gothic' style to the house; the house itself became a perfect museum of art-treasures of every imaginable kind, of which he issued a *Descriptive Catalogue* in 1774. Among his other hobbies was a printing-press, the output of which is now highly valued by bibliophiles; Gray's *Odes* were its first product in 1757, and many of Walpole's own works were printed there, including his *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, his *Anecdotes of Painting*, his gloomy tragedy *The Mysterious Mother*, but not his *Castle of Otranto*, which has been claimed by some critics as the parent of the 'Romantic novel'. His best works, which are indeed of real value for history, only appeared after his death; these are *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and George III*, *Journal of the Reign of George III*, and *Reminiscences*. Above all these in value for every species of reader come the three thousand *Letters* written to one hundred and fifty different correspondents, recently published in the best available text, and carefully annotated, by the late Mrs. Paget Toynbee; all earlier editions are by this publication rendered worthless.

There is no doubt that Walpole contemplated the ultimate publication of these letters; he frequently recalled the originals from his correspondents, transcribed and annotated them. Yet in spite of their author's consciousness of their value, they never seem to smell of the lamp, but read as the spontaneous outpourings of a vivacious,

witty, learned, and, on the whole, generous-hearted man. Of the friends to whom they were written perhaps the best loved were George Montague and Walpole's own cousin, Marshal Conway, whose daughter Mrs. Damer inherited Strawberry Hill for her life. The correspondent who received the greatest number was the British Minister at Florence, Sir Horace Mann ; the Reverend William Cole and the Misses Berry, the latter being friends of his old age, were also among the most favoured recipients. A very few of the letters are to another acquaintance of his later years, Madame du Deffand, a blind French lady of great wit, whose affection he gained at his first visit to Paris in 1765, and whom he twice subsequently visited there. For sixteen years he wrote to her almost weekly until her death in 1780, but all of these except seven (which escaped perhaps by accident) were intentionally destroyed either after or before his own death ; it is believed that he did not wish his imperfect French to be scrutinized by posterity. Walpole in his seventy-fourth year succeeded his own childless nephew as fourth Earl of Orford, and died less than six years later.

ROBERT BURNS

(1759-1796)

poet, was the son of William Burnes, or Burness, a peasant farmer, and of Agnes Brown, a peasant farmer's daughter. His grandfather had been a farmer in Kincardineshire. The father settled on a very small farm at Alloway, built his cottage with his own hands, married, and begat seven children. He was a devout, sober, and industrious man, and determined to give his boys the best schooling possible in such conditions. Robert, the eldest, and his brother Gilbert became pupils of one Murdoch, whom their father and his neighbours hired to come and board with them in turn to teach their children. Just in the same fashion the Icelanders get their schooling to-day. Murdoch

grounded his boys well ; Robert had a natural taste for reading, and the father pinched and saved to get a few books. In 1766 the family migrated to Mount Oliphant, a larger but very poor farm, where they lived till Robert's nineteenth year, in penury and toil. In 1777 they took another farm at Lochlie, near Tarbolton, the sons still working as their father's helpers in the fields. In 1781 Robert tried to be a flax-dresser at Irvine on the Clyde ; but his shop was destroyed by fire before a year was out, and he returned to the farm. The father died, poorer than ever, in 1784, and his stock was sold up, enough remaining to enable Robert and Gilbert to take the farm of Mossiel, near Mauchline, under Gavin Hamilton, a Writer in that town, the poet's first friend and patron beyond his own sphere. Burns, who had already felt his feet in rhyme, and had more than one passing love affair, here formed a connexion with Jean Armour and privately acknowledged her as his wife ; she was the daughter of a mason in Mauchline, who refused to acknowledge the marriage, sent his daughter away, and threatened proceedings against her lover. Gavin Hamilton was also in trouble with the authorities of the Kirk for non-observance of the Sabbath. The poet did not improve his own standing with that institution by his biting satires in defence of Hamilton, and against the strict leaders of Ayrshire religious society. These satires, and many of Burns's other rhymes, were handed round, in his bold and beautiful handwriting, and greatly admired among his friends. Like all the truest poets he went to his daily work with his verse in the making. His brother Gilbert told Carlyle in after years that ' Robert in his young days was a fellow of infinite frolic, laughter, sense, and heart, far pleasanter to hear than, stript, cutting peats in a bog, or such like, than he ever afterwards knew him '. Armour issued a warrant for Burns's arrest, and Burns determined to emigrate to Jamaica. But, before starting, on Hamilton's suggestion he published his first volume of poems at Kilmarnock in July 1786. He received £20 for it, and prepared to start for Greenock on his way to Jamaica. It was the reception of the little Kilmarnock volume in Edinburgh that induced

him to pause, and to go to the Capital, with a view to a second edition. About the same date happened three episodes—the birth of twins to Jean Armour; the death of another (unidentified) woman to whom Burns considered himself betrothed, and who is celebrated in his song as ‘Highland Mary’; and his first acquaintance with his kindest, best, and most enduring friend, Mrs. Dunlop of Dunlop. Edinburgh society held out a warm welcome to the ‘ploughman-poet’, whose head was not in the least turned thereby. It was then that Scott, a boy of fifteen, saw him for a few minutes and remarked upon his wonderful eyes. The second edition of the poems produced £500 early in 1787, but the publisher took long in paying. To a second visit to Edinburgh in the autumn of that year belongs his philandering intercourse with Mrs. Maclehose, far too much *à la* Sterne to be pleasant to dwell upon here. While in Edinburgh he promised Johnson, an engraver and musician, to collect old Scottish songs for him to set to music, and he made, sometime in 1787, a tour for this purpose to the Border, and two or three tours to the Highlands. He refused all payment for these songs, both then and thereafter. Early in ’88 he resolved to settle again to his natural occupation of farming. He rented Ellisland, on the banks of the Nith in Dumfriesshire, married Jean Armour, and entered his new home in August 1789. Ellisland was never a success, and Burns was fain to add £50 a year to his income by getting a small place in the Excise, which took him long journeys on horseback, while his wife managed the dairy work at the farm. He hated the Excise work, but, when he was obliged to quit Ellisland in 1791 and go to live in Dumfries town, it was his only resource. ‘That a Europe, with its French Revolution just breaking out, found no need for a Burns, except for gauging beer’ was grievous, and rightly so, to Carlyle. But the Government of Pitt was no patron of literature, the best men of the country were in desperate political anxiety during Burns’s last years, and Burns himself, the proudest and most independent-minded of mankind, would probably have refused all pecuniary patronage. In private life, though he made many warm friends among people of higher social status than



ROBERT BURNS

From the portrait by Alexander Nasmyth in the National Portrait Gallery

himself, he did not always choose the best friendships, and he lost some of his best through his own fault. He was, moreover, not a very good exciseman, forfeited all chances of promotion, and received more than one reproof. He wrote several heart-stirring songs sympathetic to the Revolution, although the progress of his sympathy was often checked, and at last pulled up short, by his burning patriotism; he died an enrolled member of the local volunteer corps, resolved to resist to the death 'should haughty Gaul invasion threat'. All offers of regularly paid literary work (and many were made to him) he utterly refused; he 'would be damned if he would ever write for money', he said; and the songs which he collected, emended, or rewrote *de fond en comble*, were made for the love and honour of Scotland alone. To a far greater degree than Scott he 'reformed' the shape, and even the gist, of many of the songs which he gathered; all he needed was, as Mr. Lang says, to have the key-note struck for him, and then he prolonged and glorified it; but, in most cases, he did need to have just one note touched first. It is neither easy nor necessary to follow the chronology of the songs, nor of his other poems. Johnson's collection, called *The Scots Musical Museum*, contains nearly two hundred songs attributed to him. Another *Collection of Scottish Airs*, to which he was also contributing songs in considerable numbers, began to appear, in parts, in 1793, and was continued after his death. The basis of all the poems, as apart from the songs, is the little Kilmarnock volume, with its touching preface, in which the poet disclaims all discipleship 'to Theocritus and Virgil'. To the four later editions of this which were published in his lifetime, successive additions were made; and, after his death, many pieces, hitherto suppressed, appeared in the very numerous later editions.

That Robert Burns was the greatest untaught natural poet Britain ever produced is a truism; and it is impossible to maintain that any teaching could have made him better. He wrote and sang of the men, of the Nature, and of the scenes close around him, just as they touched his passionate, high-strung, but essentially virile heart, and he judged them from an immensely broad intellectual standpoint. In his use of

powerful, tender, blasting, or biting words and phrases, and in sheer ringing melody, he has no equal in any language. Some of his more 'literary' correspondents urged him to write in English rather than in his native tongue; and that he could write in magnificent rollicking or moving English, parts of *The Jolly Beggars* and stanzas like *Raving Winds* and *Afton Water* conclusively prove. When he came to write letters in English, especially love letters, he was far less happy; indeed, he too often became affected because he tried to be affecting. Let us forget his letters. His greatest work was done in the pure old Doric of lowland Scots, and here no one ever has touched, and no one ever could touch him. He believed his own work to be inferior to that of Robert Fergusson, a young Edinburgh poet who died at twenty-four in a lunatic asylum when Burns was fifteen; and it was from Fergusson that he borrowed one of his most effective metres. Robert Louis Stevenson, who, in spite of passionate admiration, is occasionally a little hard on Burns, attributes too much inspiration to Fergusson.

It is less agreeable to write of Burns's private character, but here too it is easy to do him less than justice. God 'had formed him with passions wild and strong', and he knew and lamented it; but he was not the heartless Lothario that he has been represented. He drank too much and too often; the reckless clever society in Edinburgh tempted him very hard; after his return to the country he found only too much conviviality among the lairds, and in his own rank of life also; at Dumfries one fears that drink became a resource in itself, was too often taken in low company, and finally undermined his constitution. The 'low company', however, of the Dumfriesshire of Burns's day was probably not nearly as low as that frequented in London by his contemporary and parallel, George Morland; and we may well believe that Burns, even in his cups, would have cared little to associate with men who were not in some way or other 'real men', even if they were ribalds and drunkards, smugglers, or men 'up against the law'. And he was never a sodden drunkard, if he was too often a very unlucky one. He strove to play the man through it all, was good to his wife and

children, and never fell into hopeless poverty or degradation. His few very small debts seemed to him in his last months a frightful burden. Sir Leslie Stephen very rightly says, 'There is less to be forgiven to him than to most of those whose genius has led to morbid development of character.'

In 1795 his health began to decline seriously ; he was ill all the winter, and caught rheumatic fever early in 1796. In the summer he went to the Solway for a few days, a dying man, and came back to die on July 21st.

THOMAS GRAY

(1716-1771)

poet, by many thought to be the truest forerunner of the Romantic School, was born in Cornhill. His father was a 'money-scrivener', a word defined in the *New English Dictionary* as meaning 'one whose business it is to raise loans and put money out to interest on behalf of his clients'. Mason, the author of that *Life of Gray* which Horace Walpole 'preferred to all the biography he ever saw', says that the elder Gray was a cruel brute, who ill-treated his wife, and neglected his son ; but some of Gray's letters from abroad are written to his father, and there is in them no indication of this. Anyhow the mother and her sister, Miss Antrobus, who together kept a milliner's shop in London, bore the expense of Thomas's schooling. One of her brothers (Walpole says two) was an 'usher at Eton school' ; and under his care Gray went to Eton in 1727. His friendship with Horace Walpole and Richard West began there ; he preceded Horace by one year at Cambridge, going to Peterhouse, and in 1739 'accompanied Mr. H. W. in travelling to France and Italy'. They quarrelled on the way home (1741), and Horace, not always the most generous of mankind, afterwards took all the blame to himself ; Johnson, in his *Life of Gray*,

gives what is perhaps the right interpretation, that Gray, conscious of some social inferiority, 'watched his own dignity with troublesome and punctilious jealousy'. The friends were reconciled in 1744, and Horace ever afterwards set himself to publish Gray's fame by all the means in his power, two of the Odes being the first production of the new press at Strawberry Hill.

Gray's foreign tour certainly opened the eyes of a man of singularly acute intellect, and only too fastidious taste, not only to Classical and Renaissance art and architecture, but (at the time a most unusual aberration) to the beauties of 'the Gothick' also. He was a scholar born, in spite of occasional false quantities in his Latin verses, and he made himself on his return to Cambridge a very learned scholar.

There is, moreover, in Gray's letters from abroad something else new; he still feels bound to call the Alps, as all before him had called them, *horridos tractus*, but one can see that he feels their grandeur and beauty. In after life he travelled to the Highlands as far as Blair Atholl, and had the courage and originality to admire that scenery also. Another herald of a yet far distant change in taste was Gray's interest, in his later years, in Norse and Celtic poetry and antiquities. Poets of the eighteenth century often knew some Italian; Gray learned Icelandic also. Few poets have been scientific observers of natural history; Gray studied plants, insects, and birds as well as music and painting. Only from mathematics and theology was his vision averted.

When he settled at Cambridge on his return his aunt and mother had moved to Stoke Poges, where the former died in 1749 and the latter in 1753. Gray spent many of his summers there, and there wrote the famous *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, 1742, and the still more famous *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, 1749. Selima, Mr. Walpole's favourite cat, had 'mewed to every watery god' in vain and been immortalized in 1747. Gray disliked Cambridge both on its mathematical and its social side, but he made his principal home there for the rest of his life. When the Peterhouse undergraduates teased the shy recluse, he migrated, apparently without any formalities, to



THOMAS GRAY

From the portrait by John Giles Eccardt in the National Portrait Gallery



WILLIAM COWPER

From the portrait by George Romney in the National Portrait Gallery

rooms in Pembroke. He had few friends at the University, but the best was William Mason, of St. John's and Pembroke, who published his *Life and Letters of Gray* three years after the poet's death. In 1754 Gray began his Pindaric Odes, and in 1758 were published *The Bard* and *The Progress of Poesy*. On Cibber's death, 1757, Gray refused the laureateship, which was then 'bestowed on Mr. Whitehead'. In 1762 he was 'cockered and spirited up' to ask for the Regius Professorship of Modern History, but Lord Bute sent him a civil refusal. When, however, Lord Bute's choice, Mr. Brouncker, broke his neck by a fall from his horse, 'being, as I hear, drunk', Grafton gave the post unasked to Gray. 'He accepted and retained it to his death; always designing lectures, but never reading them; uneasy at the neglect of his duty and appeasing his uneasiness with designs of reformation.'

Johnson is willing to quote from Mason that Gray was 'perhaps the most learned man in Europe'; it is a strong statement, but we may safely say that he was the most learned of English poets, and the very width and depth of his knowledge combined with his natural fastidiousness to restrict his output to very small dimensions. He polished and revised his work as few truly inspired poets have done; he refused, with one small exception, any payment for it.

If he has a forerunner it is Dryden, but Dryden only when at Dryden's very best; at Tennyson's very best Tennyson may be reckoned his successor, and it was Tennyson who said of some lines in the *Elegy* 'these divine truisms make me weep'. On the other hand, Matthew Arnold and Fitzgerald considered Gray's taste superior to his genius; and Samuel Johnson abruptly scouted him as a 'dull fellow'. Of his letters Horace Walpole said, 'They are the best I ever saw, and had more novelty and wit than any others.' Gray's health was never strong, and he thought too much about it.

WILLIAM COWPER

(1731-1800)

poet, was son of the Rector of Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, grandson of a judge who had enjoyed the distinction of being tried for murder, and great-nephew of Earl Cowper, the famous Lord Chancellor. The family was Whig to the core, the poet's great-grandfather having been one of the most active of Shaftesbury's gang at the time of the Exclusion Bill.

William was at Westminster with Warren Hastings, where he learned from ' Vinny ' Bourne to write excellent Latin verses ; he was a law pupil with Thurlow, was called to the Bar in 1754, and had chambers in the Temple for nine years. He very nearly became a clerk in the House of Lords, but had already developed symptoms of melancholia, and could not bring himself to face the ordeal of being appointed to, and examined for, this office ; in fact he went out of his mind and made several attempts at suicide (1763). After spending some time in confinement, being entirely dependent for his finances on his friends and relatives, he settled at Huntingdon (1765) with the deeply religious family of the Unwins as a ' paying guest '. Soon after the death of Mr. Unwin, Cowper removed with Unwin's widow to Olney in Buckinghamshire (1767), to be under the influence of the Rev. John Newton, ' a clerical ex-slave-trader ' and a passionate (yet really tender-hearted) champion of extreme Evangelicalism ; for this loving tyrant Cowper wrote some of his most beautiful hymns. Newton, as Mr. Lucas suggests in his edition of Cowper's *Letters*, treated the fastidious poet much as a young Salvation Army officer would treat a prize-fighter who showed signs of repentance. The poet would have married the widow, Mary Unwin, had he not been goaded to a fresh attack of mental disease by Newton's dealings with his soul (1773-4). Happily for every one concerned, Newton, whose religious zeal had made him very unpopular with the village hooligans, accepted a London

living in 1780, but Cowper continued to correspond with him, not only upon spiritual matters, but also upon the subject of the publication of his own poems.

The next ten or twelve years were the really happy period of Cowper's life, broken only by one cloud in 1787 ; he took a keen interest in his garden and his country walks. The first volume of his poems appeared in 1782, and was not very well received ; it contains little of his best work, but much promise of what was to come. Besides the gentle Mary Unwin, another charming inspirer of his verse was Lady Austen, who settled at Olney in 1782. It was she who suggested the subject of *The Task* and also *John Gilpin*, and the volume containing both came out in 1785. Lady Austen departed, perhaps owing to some jealousy of Mrs. Unwin, in the next year.

About the same date Cowper began a correspondence with his widowed cousin, Lady Hesketh ; his letters, where unconcerned with religious experiences, are among the most charming things in our language ; and it is from them that we learn best the story of his own life. Lady Hesketh induced him and Mrs. Unwin, in 1786, to move from Olney to Weston, where lived some Catholic friends of her own, the Throckmortons. Newton, who had continued his affectionate interest in Cowper, expressed, in unfortunate letters, his fears that such friendships as these were endangering his patient's soul, and this, together with the early death of Mrs. Unwin's son, brought a fresh attack of mania to the poet (1787), but from this he soon recovered, and was perhaps at his best in 1789-91. His next work was a translation of Homer, which was published by subscription in 1791. After the publication of this he began an edition of Milton, which brought him a new friend in the dilettante squire Hayley, who persuaded Cowper and Mary Unwin to visit him in Sussex. But both the poet and his faithful Muse were now becoming feeble, the latter from paralysis, the former, though he could still write lovely verses, from gradual decay of mind. A pension from the Crown of £300 a year (1794) did little to cheer them ; they removed (1795) to the house of a cousin

in Norfolk, always with affectionate help from Lady Hesketh, and finally settled at East Dereham ; but, even before Mrs. Unwin's death (1796), Cowper was sinking into a kind of stupor, from which he seldom revived.

Cowper could write in many various strains ; though he lived much by the tea-table, and though his Muses were gentle ladies that presided over it, though he loved tame hares and his spaniel ' Beau ', though he had made his own dear cat as immortal as Gray made Horace Walpole's Selima, he could also stir the blood with the *Royal George* and *Boadicea*, each line of which rings like a sword-cut ; he could make his readers cry with laughter at *John Gilpin*, or bow their heads in awe at ' God moves in a mysterious way '. His enduring fame—and it is not likely to decay—must rest primarily upon a few perfect short pieces and a few passages in the longer poems, breathing the air of the quiet valley of the Ouse ; in these he is a true forerunner of the Romantics, with the addition of a delicate humour (an after-breath from his early environments), which few of the Romantics possessed. And, secondly, it must rest upon the immortal letters, especially those to Lady Hesketh and his cousin John Johnson.

JOHN HUNTER

(1728-1793)

surgeon, was the son of a small Lanarkshire laird, and brother of the distinguished surgeon and anatomist, William Hunter. John's education was neglected, but he followed his brother William to London in 1748, and became his assistant ; he did not always get on well with him, and they had a final quarrel in 1780. John studied dissection during his early years in London, studied gunshot wounds as a staff surgeon in the Portuguese expedition of 1762, and then set up in practice for himself, taking pupils in anatomy as well ; and among his pupils was Edward Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination. He became surgeon to St. George's Hospital in 1768, and a Fellow of the Royal Society in the same year. His famous Lectures which established the principles and methods of pre-Listerian surgery, began in 1773. Ten years later he began the construction of his famous Museum for the housing of his collections, which were acquired by the College of Surgeons with Government help in 1800. He was never in strong health, and died suddenly in 1793. He was a hot-tempered, excitable man, of education and manners far below his great mental attainments ; of the most unwearied industry and zeal for research, for which purpose, and for which alone, he was covetous of money. He had the same kind of passion as Frank Buckland after him for the collection of the bodies or skeletons of strange animals, and, although he had no Zoological Garden to satisfy his craving for them, he at one time kept a sort of menagerie of his own at Earl's Court. And perhaps it would be almost as true to describe him as a great experimental naturalist as to call him the first of modern expositors of Surgery. Thus, he worked on the problems of the differentiation of sex, of the foetus, on embryonic studies, on the arteries and the blood ; but also upon the subjects of geological time and fossils. Where he was really greatest was in his passion for observation and for accumulation of evidence ; he would never state a

theory before he had verified every possible link in the chain of evidence. His favourite phrase was 'Don't think, try', which meant 'do not be an empiric in the common sense of the word, but in the real Greek sense of it'. He even had some indifference to, or distrust of, books, because they might hinder the student from observation of facts for himself. Thus all his aim was to bring both Medicine and Surgery into closer touch with Science. He did not seriously anticipate either Darwin or Lister, but he paved the way for both.

ROBERT DODSLEY

(1703-1764)

bookseller and man of letters, is in a minor way one of the interesting characters of his age. He was the son of a small schoolmaster in Sherwood Forest, and was in service as a footman as late as 1734. There was more servility in the eighteenth century than in its successors, but there was far less snobbery; and Dodsley probably gained more than he lost from the constant references, more often laudatory than disparaging, to his early employment. When he began to display literary gifts (pedestrian indeed, yet of higher order than those of Mr. Thackeray's Jeames de la Pluche) his mistress, Mrs. Lowther, took great trouble to get him subscribers, but never seems to have suggested that he should quit her service.

Johnson once remarked that in the seventeenth century it was thought wonderful if a man composed *in* his chariot, but 'how much more would the wonder have been increased by a footman studying behind it'. Dodsley's first poems were, indeed, manly and sensible if prosaic reflections on that employment, namely, his *Servitude*, 1729, and *A Muse in Livery*, 1732. His little play *The Toy Shop* was acted with success in 1735; and he thereon quitted service and set up, not after the manner of his kind as a publican, but as a bookseller, Pope



JOHN HUNTER

From a copy by John Jackson, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery of a portrait by
Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., belonging to the Royal College of Surgeons

lending him a hundred pounds to assist him to do so. He continued to the end of his life to write poems, skits, and plays, of little more than ephemeral importance. He even wrote a tragedy ('with more blood than brains in it', said Johnson), which was very well received, in 1759, and thought by Mrs. Siddons to be worth reviving as late as 1786. But it is for two reasons that Dodsley is really worthy of our kindly remembrance: first, because he was the projector and publisher of many useful periodical magazines, collections, and other literary ventures, including *The Public Register*, 1741; the *Select Collection of Old Plays*, 1744; *The Museum*, 1746; *A Collection of Poems*, 1748; *The World*, 1753; and *The Annual Register* (with Burke for its first editor), 1758; to periodicals like these all the wits and men of letters contributed, and one and all had a kindly word for Robert Dodsley and his brother James, whom he took into partnership with him. Secondly, 'Doddy' must ever be remembered as the man whom Johnson was proud to call his 'patron'. Most of us are acquainted with Johnson's views on patronage as exemplified by Chesterfield; Johnson thought, probably with justice, that the Earl treated him as he would never have treated a footman; he knew that the ex-footman Dodsley always behaved to him as a gentleman should behave. And Johnson, the ex-schoolmaster and son of a bookseller, had a true gentleman's feeling for a bookseller who was a schoolmaster's son. Their connexion was a very early one. It was Dodsley who gave Johnson ten much-needed guineas for his *London* in 1738; it was Dodsley who suggested the *Dictionary*, and became one of the syndicate of publishers that produced it; while it was running its laborious course the same publisher brought out Johnson's *Irene*, and his *Vanity of Human Wishes* in 1749; and, finally, his name appears ten years later as joint publisher (with Strahan) of *Rasselas*. Dodsley also published Gray's *Elegy* in 1751, Goldsmith's *Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* in 1759, and the *Works of Shenstone* in the year after that poet's death, 1764.

Dodsley's younger brother James long survived him, and flourished as a bookseller in Pall Mall till 1797.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD

(1730-1795)

potter, of a younger branch of an old Staffordshire family, was son and grandson of potters of Burslem. The boy had strong artistic and experimental instincts, but little schooling except what he gave himself. He was in business for himself before the death of George II, and very rapidly extended his premises and improved his methods to meet the increasing demand for his beautiful wares. His celebrated 'Etruria' works were opened in 1769; his services to internal navigation, so useful for the carriage of his fragile goods, and to the development of the canal system, were almost as important to his countrymen as his inventions of different mixtures, colours, glazes, and wares were to his own manufacture. Just as a great publishing house is able to defray, out of the proceeds of the sale of school-books, the serious losses constantly incurred by the production of learned works for the world of learning, so Mr. Wedgwood, by improving and cheapening the manufacture of many of the commonest and simplest forms of pots and pans, was able to earn money which he nobly spent in experiments, few of them immediately remunerative, in the highest and most artistic spheres of his craft. Some of his copies of the antique now realize enormous sums; among the artists who worked for him upon these was John Flaxman. Wedgwood was a man of great personal charm and goodness, with a large circle of friends, and was the grandfather of Charles Darwin.



ROBERT DODSLEY

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.,
in the Picture Gallery of Dulwich College



JOSIAH WEDGWOOD

From the portrait by Sir J. Reynolds, P.R.A., in
the possession of Miss Wedgwood at Dorking



JAMES BRINDLEY

From an engraving by Condé



SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT

From the portrait by Joseph Wright, of Derby,
in the National Portrait Gallery

JAMES BRINDLEY

(1716-1772)

engineer, was the son of a Derbyshire cottager of rough character, and was taken at seventeen from field-work to be apprenticed to a millwright. He at once displayed great mechanical genius in the repairing of mills, engines, and all kinds of machinery. When his articles were out he set up in business for himself ; he was soon employed by Josiah Wedgwood, the Staffordshire potter and inventor, and he displayed some skill in devising improvements on the stationary steam-engine. In 1759 the young Duke of Bridgewater, who had inherited a scheme, still awaiting execution, for making Worsley Brook navigable from the Worsley collieries to the River Irwell at Manchester, conceived the idea of improving on this scheme by constructing, instead, a navigable canal between the two points. His land agent Gilbert knew Brindley and had been struck by his inventive powers ; Brindley was called in and accepted as constructor at a salary of three shillings and sixpence a day. He had no previous knowledge of what is now called civil engineering, and was in fact merely a mechanic of amazing invention and resourcefulness. He came to live with the Duke at Worsley Old Hall, and at once set to work on the task. They were a strange pair ; Brindley could hardly read, and his spelling to the day of his death remained almost the most wonderful thing about him ; the Duke was a visionary and a recluse, who cared nothing for society, and threw his whole fortune into the enterprises he took up : he reduced his personal expenditure at Worsley to bare subsistence for himself and his horse ; no one would lend him money, for all thought him mad, and thought Brindley still more mad. Often there was not enough cash to pay the workmen on the Canal their weekly wages ; yet so economical was Brindley that the cost of the actual waterway did not exceed £1,000 a mile. The most astonishing part of Brindley's

design was the aqueduct in which the Canal was carried over the River Irwell at Barton at a height of forty feet above the stream. It was confined within a channel whose banks and bottom were of puddled clay to prevent leakage. Puddling was Brindley's great resource, and the last words he uttered when dying were 'puddle it again and again'. The carrying of the Canal across the spongy ground of a great 'moss' was an almost equally wonderful feat; the tunnelling into the coal-mines at the Worsley end was another. The Canal was opened for traffic in 1761 within two years of its commencement, and at once reduced the price of coals at Manchester by one-half. The next scheme was the extension of the Canal to the Mersey to connect Liverpool with Manchester. It was on this occasion that Brindley, giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons on the scheme, demonstrated his plans for a certain bridge by bringing in a large cheese and cutting it in half. This Canal was opened in 1773, a year after Brindley's death.

Few of those who have written, for the general reading public, books upon feats of water-engineering know anything about canals, and Mr. Samuel Smiles in his *Lives of the Engineers* was no exception to this rule. And on the other hand the scientific engineers themselves have not always been able to explain to the reading public the mechanism of their great works. It may therefore be shortly stated that Brindley's great merits lay first in keeping the 'pound' (i. e. the space between two locks) at the summit-level as long as possible, and, where the canal had to climb or descend, to place a series of locks close together, if necessary with many successive gates as the steps descended; secondly, in providing weirs for overflows and frequent flood-gates which in the event of a breach could be swiftly closed; this would empty a 'length' of the pound without emptying the whole pound, and thus repairs could be done to the sides or the bottom; thirdly, wherever possible, he avoided ascents and descents, were the alternative route never so circuitous; fourthly, at the summit-levels he preferred tunnels to deep cuttings; fifthly, he always preferred an artificial to a natural water-

way, and used the latter only as a feeder of the former. As an extreme instance of the last of these principles he actually proposed that, instead of keeping open the navigation of the Thames, a canal should be made alongside of it.

Long before the Liverpool and Manchester Canal was finished Brindley was engaged on the 'Grand Trunk', designed to connect Trent, Mersey, and Severn, in a length in all of one hundred and thirty-nine miles, and also on plans for numerous other works of the same kind. Among the patrons of these works none was more forward than Josiah Wedgwood, who needed, for the conveyance of his fragile pottery, exactly that smooth and safe method of conveyance which a canal affords. Even to-day for goods of this nature, wherever time is no object, water-carriage is always preferred to that of the railways. Before Brindley's death the whole country was investing money in Canal shares with an eagerness only less great than that displayed in the railway mania sixty years later. Brindley himself invested all his savings in such enterprises and died a comparatively rich man. Yet the rate of pay he had received from the Duke of Bridgewater was ridiculously and even scandalously small. Mr. Smiles mentions one extraordinary habit of this self-taught genius; when he had to come to a decision, or to make a calculation, requiring long thought he used to go to bed for a day, or even for two or three days, and then rise with his plan matured in his head; to drawings or models he hardly ever resorted. Outside his profession he had no interests whatever, and made no attempt to widen his mental horizon.

SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT

(1732-1792)

inventor, was a Lancashire lad of humble origin, apprenticed to a barber at Preston ; we find him exercising that trade in Bolton after 1750, and doing well as a wig-maker ; then, as the Age of Wigs began to pass, turning his natural cunning towards the invention of machines, about which no doubt he had gossiped with his customers. The ' flying shuttle ' was already in existence, and in 1767 Arkwright began to experiment with the aid of a clockmaker in the hope of discovering some artificial means of weaving cloth ; at that date Hargreaves was constructing the first spinning-machine known as the ' jenny ' ; Arkwright worked upon the principle of a set of rollers. He moved to Nottingham, and set up his first ' frame ' there. Next, for the sake of water-power, he moved to Derbyshire, and worked his frame by a rapid river instead of horse-power. The returns on his expenditure were slow at first, but Arkwright and his partners had faith, and took out patent after patent for improvements in their machinery ; Arkwright set up other spinning-mills in other places, and sold some of his patents at a great profit. Some of these were not unnaturally infringed, and in 1781 he was involved in a great lawsuit against the infringers ; this, in various forms, dragged on till 1785, and was decided wholly against Arkwright. But in spite of this, and in spite of many hard things said against him even by those whom he had employed to help him in his early experiments, Arkwright's prosperity went on increasing ; he was able to start mills and factories all over the North Country. He was the first person to apply, in 1790, the stationary steam-engine to one of his manufactories. He was knighted in 1786, and died a very wealthy man.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

(1723-1792)

painter, and first President of the Royal Academy, was born of good clerical stock at Plympton, near Plymouth. He was one of twelve children, his father, the Rev. Samuel Reynolds, once a Fellow of Balliol, being Master of the Grammar School at Plympton ; his mother was Theophila Potter. Joshua was educated at his father's school, and early displayed a passion for drawing, especially for portraiture ; and at the age of seventeen he was bound apprentice to Hudson, the leading portrait-painter of the time. It is not known why he left Hudson's studio in 1743, but if there was any quarrel between them, it was soon made up, and till Hudson's death, Reynolds, who quickly eclipsed his master, retained his friendship. From 1746-9 Reynolds was painting in the west of England ; he made friends with Commodore Keppel in the latter year, and with him sailed in the *Centurion* to the Mediterranean, visiting Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Algiers, Minorca, Leghorn, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Modena, Parma, Mantua, Venice. He became an excellent Italian scholar, and many of the notes in his pocket-books are made in Italian. In Rome he spent two years, working incessantly at copies of the Great Masters, and finding many friends and patrons among the English visitors ; but he was wise enough to refuse to work much for patrons, unless they chose to buy the work on which he was employing himself for his own instruction. It was while copying the Raphaels of the *Stanze* in the Vatican that he caught a bad cold, which rendered him deaf and dependent on an ear-trumpet for the rest of his life.

He established himself in London early in 1753, but it was not till 1760 that he took the house (now Puttick and Simpson's) in Leicester Square, in which he remained till his death. His sister Frances, a lady who charmed Johnson, but proved too fidgety to be a suitable

companion for her placid brother, came to keep house for him in 1753 ; she had some skill in portraiture, but was a little prone to pose as *femme incomprise*, and in 1779 she set up house by herself, and her place in Sir Joshua's house was taken by two nieces, Theophila and Eliza Palmer, the latter of whom remained with her uncle till his death. Reynolds did not ' take the town by storm ' as a portrait-painter, for there was nothing stormy about him ; he simply sailed into the first place with quiet composure, owing much of his success to his great industry, much to his sweet temper, wit, good humour, and genius for friendship ; most, however, to his transcendent skill in seizing a likeness and presenting it in the most favourable light. He broke for ever with the faulty tradition of Kneller, and brought men back to Vandyck and to the great Italian masters of face-paintings. Of anatomy he was comparatively ignorant, or his knowledge of it was intuitive rather than grounded. His training had indeed been short, and of much of the *technique* of art he always remained ignorant. Most of his ' drapery ' was done by pupils, to whom he was invariably kind ; the best known of these was Northcote, who afterwards wrote his life, with high appreciation of his genius, but by no means in the best spirit. As a colourist Reynolds was one of the greatest that ever lived, although his colours have nearly all faded owing to his constant experiments in ' vehicles ', oils, varnishes and magylyp ; he was for ever exploring the ' Venetian secret ', but without success. He made large sums of money, and was of course accused of avarice, but there is no truth in the accusation, for innumerable instances of his generosity to struggling artists and men of letters are on record. To have helped Burke, Goldsmith, and Johnson with gifts and loans ought to win a man forgiveness even for having made six thousand a year ; and certainly Reynolds never sacrificed his art for money. He invested much of his income in the purchase of Old Masters. His acquaintance with Johnson began in 1753, and endured unbroken till the sage's death ; he was none the less dear to this Tory because his own patrons in his earlier years had been Whigs. He was the founder of ' The Club ' (1764), and he



SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A.

From the portrait painted by himself in the Picture Gallery at Dulwich College

founded it for Johnson. Burke was perhaps his next dearest friend ; and as both Johnson and Burke were totally ignorant of art they must have loved the man, not the painter. They often helped to polish his ' Discourses ' for the Academy ; Reynolds, though his knowledge of literature was considerable, and his natural gift for it great, was a careless writer and speller. Wilkes, Garrick, Fanny Burney ; the great actresses Kitty Clive, Mrs. Abington, Mrs. Siddons ; Horace Walpole, Selwyn, March ; the list of Sir Joshua's friends is the list of all the clever and interesting men and women of that great period, and even Kitty Fisher and Nelly O'Brien must be counted among them. For women, except as charming companions or models, he had no affection ; Angelica Kauffmann was perhaps in love with him for a short time, but there is no trace of love as a passion in his gentle nature. Hogarth stands indeed outside the circle, and Leslie has well pointed out that this was by Hogarth's own fault, and his own assumed (not real) prejudice against foreign schools of art. But it is a serious reproach to Reynolds's critical *acumen* that he failed to appreciate Hogarth as an artist. With Gainsborough, the one artist who rivalled, and in the opinion of the best judges, even surpassed himself, there was no quarrel, but there was a coldness, for Gainsborough, when he first came to London in 1774, simply ignored Reynolds's advances ; Gainsborough was, moreover, perpetually in quarrel or on the edge of quarrel with the Academy. Romney flashed into fame in 1775, and undoubtedly drew away some sitters. Though a ' Romney faction ' was spoken of by Thurlow (who also called Reynolds a scoundrel), Romney can hardly be regarded as a serious rival, and it was of course an honour to be called a scoundrel by such a man as Thurlow ; Reynolds painted Thurlow as he really was, Romney left out the terrible scowl. Romney had simply refused to have anything to do with the Academy, and his emotional high-strung temperament would never have appealed to Reynolds as a man. In 1782 Sir Joshua, then in his sixtieth year, began to sit to Gainsborough for his own portrait, but, after one sitting, a slight paralytic stroke, compelling Reynolds to take

six weeks' complete rest, interrupted the task, which was never resumed; as is well known, Gainsborough sent for Sir Joshua when on his death-bed and there was a complete reconciliation between them. It was indeed very natural that other artists should have been jealous of Reynolds, not merely because of his success in art and fortune, but because of his other great social gifts, which led him to seek a society more intellectual and less devoted to 'shop' talk than their own; the point to establish is that there was no jealousy on Reynolds's own part of any brother artist.

To the title of Founder of the Academy Reynolds can lay no claim. He composed the first sketch of such a project for the 'Dilettanti' in 1755, he zealously supported the first public exhibition of the works of British artists in 1760, but he refused to be a Director of the first incorporated 'Society of Artists', 1765, and he was absent in Paris while the actual scheme for the Academy was being drawn up, 1768. But, when the artists had met and obtained the patronage of the King (who was no friend to the intimate friend of so many great Whigs), Reynolds was the only possible President, was knighted at once, and did in fact everything to give the Society its rules and its Schools. His yearly 'Discourses' show his powers as a critic and his knowledge of the principles that should govern an artistic education, and he gave so much of his time to the task of presiding at the meetings of the Academy that his sitters at once began to be diminished in numbers. It was from that time too that he began to travel outside the range of portraiture and to produce fancy pictures and to take allegorical subjects, of which his mastery was not always so sure as of portraiture. In 1789, when at the height of his fame and activity, the President was attacked by *gutta serena* in one eye; it must have been a terrible shock, for even his placid temper broke down in the next year, and led him into a brief quarrel with the Academy over an election. He resigned the chair, but resumed it with applause three weeks afterwards; but if his blindness was not increasing rapidly, his fear of it was; he became seriously ill in the autumn of 1791, and died in the following February.

It would be idle to pretend that Sir Joshua can take rank with the greatest painters of the world. Things came too easy to him ; his hand worked too happily in carrying out the conceptions of his fertile brain ; perhaps his very success was a snare. And this success was due to his power of conceiving the most various characters, a power in which he stands alone, for he founded no school of portraiture. " He may go out of fashion for a time," says Northcote, 'but you must come back to him again, while a thousand imitators and academic triflers are forgotten ; . . . he knew nothing of rules, which are alone to be taught, and he could not communicate his instinctive feeling of beauty or character to others.' And Leslie adds, 'All the people he paints seem, as it were, irradiated by something of amiability, breeding and sense, that comes from the painter . . . A man of more aspiring genius would inevitably have quarrelled with his time ; he seems to have had just the calibre of mind to appreciate what was best in it.' Perhaps after all the oft-quoted appreciation of Reynolds by Gainsborough is the best ; with a good-humoured oath his rival said 'How various he is !'

THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH

(1727-1788)

painter, was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, the youngest son of a woollen manufacturer, who had other clever children. Thomas developed an early taste for art, and got a fair education at Sudbury Grammar School, of which his maternal uncle, a clergyman, was master. He studied art in London, and earned a few guineas before he was eighteen, at which age he returned to Sudbury ; at nineteen he married a lady with a little property, and set up house at Ipswich. He painted portraits and played the violin ; to music he was always passionately devoted ; it has been well remarked that his pictures have more music in them than

those of any other painter: they have the delicate harmony, the sparkling brilliancy, and the flowing rhythm, which affect the minds of those who can understand both arts. Gainsborough moved to Bath in 1760, and here his real success as a portrait painter began. In 1768 he was chosen one of the members of the newly incorporated Royal Academy of Arts, and finally settled in London in 1774. His success and his industry were amazing; there was a year, 1783, in which he exhibited in the Academy as many as twenty-six portraits. Twice, however, he quarrelled with the Academy and intermitted his practice of exhibiting there; on the last occasion (1784) it was a final quarrel. He was extraordinarily generous, and gave away many of his pictures; also he signed few and dated hardly ever, an omission which has been a fruitful source of quarrel concerning the authenticity of works attributed to him. He was hot-tempered, and careless whom he offended; and hence his quarrel with Sir Joshua and with the Society over which Sir Joshua so worthily presided. Gainsborough was too careless to attend to his duties at the Academy, or even to come to the dinners; and yet he was more than particular that his own pictures should always be hung in the best light. But Reynolds constantly paid to the full his tribute of admiration, and was deeply affected when Gainsborough from his deathbed begged for an interview of reconciliation; it was then that Gainsborough used the often-quoted words 'We are all going to Heaven, and Vandyke is of the company'. Sir Joshua was one of the pall-bearers at his funeral in the churchyard of Kew, where the painter died. In his famous 'Fourteenth Discourse', delivered to the Academy at the prize-giving at the end of 1788, the President launched out into an appreciation of his rival which, professing to be a critical estimate of his excellences and an inquiry into their secret, became in fact an unstinted panegyric. The causes of Gainsborough's greatness are, in Sir Joshua's view, that he 'loved his art and lived for it; his whole mind was devoted to it, and everything was referred to it; . . . his passion was not the acquirement of riches but excellence in his art; . . . whether he most excelled in portraits, landscapes, or fancy



THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, R.A.

From the portrait by himself (?) in the National Portrait Gallery



GEORGE ROMNEY

From an unfinished portrait by himself in the National Portrait Gallery

pictures, it is difficult to determine ; he was indebted to no one, trained in no school ; his grace was not academical, nor antique, but selected by himself from the great school of nature ; . . . also he knew his limitations ; he avoided the mistake of Hogarth's later years and never attempted " the great historical style " ; . . . the slightness which we often see in his work was not due to negligence ; this " hatching manner " contributed to the lightness of effect, which is so eminent a beauty of his pictures. He was such a great composer that what looks chaotic when seen close, assumes form and loveliness when seen at a distance. He was a colourist before all things.'

Time has not impugned the great President's estimate of Gainsborough ; it has only added fresh laurels to him, nay, it has exalted him above Reynolds himself. ' His art ', says Leslie, ' has a pastoral feeling that raises him to the level of Burns ; if Reynolds attempted to paint a cottage girl, she was a young lady acting a part, but the cottagers of Gainsborough have a natural simplicity, an unconscious elegance of manner, which addresses the heart rather than the eye. He was a man of the finest feelings and he always makes us feel with him.' His portraits, the beautiful (and stolen) Duchess of Devonshire, his Mrs. Siddons, even his famous ' Blue Boy ' may perhaps, in some age as yet far remote, be forgotten or cease to please ; his landscapes can never be out of date. He was the most original and the greatest artist England ever produced.

GEORGE ROMNEY

(1734-1802)

painter, was the son of a North Lancashire carpenter and builder of sterling character and much ingenuity. The boy got a little local schooling, but only till his twelfth year, and the want of education hampered him all his life. He came home to assist his father in business, and showed much aptitude for handicrafts, in the intervals of practising which he drew assiduously. In 1755 he was apprenticed to a portrait-painter named Steele, who took him to York; before going the boy, in his twenty-second year, married a servant-girl at Kendal, a good but uneducated woman, whom he afterwards left in Westmoreland while he was pursuing his own artistic career. This really began with his departure for London in 1762. He competed with some success for prizes offered by the Society of Arts, but always considered that he had not received fair play from its members. In 1767 he was taken up by the poetaster and dramatist Richard Cumberland, who celebrated him in verse and prose and got him many commissions, which enabled him to visit Italy in 1773. He spent some time in Rome with great profit, and finally set up in a fine house, somewhat above his means, in Cavendish Square, London, 1775. His shyness and nervous temperament made the public exhibition of his works distasteful to him, and he entirely refused to send anything to the Academy. But his facility and real genius speedily brought him sitters, and his prices were much below those now charged by Sir Joshua Reynolds. There seems to be no truth in the story that Reynolds was jealous of Romney, and it was rather owing to the influence of friends who were jealous of Reynolds that they were kept apart; Romney had the sincerest admiration for Reynolds's work.

Much of his spare time was spent at Hayley's home in Sussex, where he would meet Blake and Flaxman; Cowper wrote a sonnet to

him on this friendship. Another friend of a different calibre was his famous model, Emma, afterwards Lady Hamilton; Romney worshipped her beauty, and painted her over and over again, but there is no reason to suppose that there was any immoral connexion between them. Romney has been reproached for not bringing his wife to London, but it is probable that the objection was as much upon her side as his; his son, who became a clergyman and wrote his father's life, often visited him, and the painter made frequent journeys to his Westmoreland home. His mind began to fail about 1796; he was subject to fits of depression, and these alternated with grandiose schemes for building a great house to hold his own works; in 1798 his intellect became quite clouded and in 1800 he returned to Kendal and died in imbecility, faithfully nursed by his wife, in 1802.

It was an unhappy life, but not in any sense a bad or wasted one; Romney seems to have possessed what is nowadays called the 'artistic temperament', so often made the excuse for morbid views of life and for irregular conduct. We really know of him mainly from Hayley and Cumberland, each in his own way an eccentric, and from the *Memoir* issued by his own son in 1830, and there may have been many incidents in, and aspects of, his career of which we are ignorant; certainly there seems to be much that needs explanation. As an artist he excels in the very high quality of swift decision. He has certainty of touch and simplicity, a simplicity so clear that it verges at times on mere prettiness. Lady Hamilton was a bad model for a person of Romney's limited education; she was utterly shallow, and one feels that, perhaps because he painted her so often, his work lacks depth. Would it be going too far to say that it also lacked intellectual quality?

JEFFREY AMHERST

BARON AMHERST

(1717-1797)

Field-Marshal, was the son of a Kentish squire, and entered the Army at an early age. He served with distinction on Ligonier's and then on Cumberland's staff in the War of the Austrian Succession, being present at all the great battles thereof. In 1758 he was given, over the heads of many seniors, the command of the Canadian Expedition. His first exploit there was the landing on the open beach of Cape Breton, in an Atlantic surf, and under a murderous fire both from the French ships and the fortress of Louisburg. Louisburg held out till July, and Amherst, instead of hurling himself at once upon Quebec by the St. Lawrence, decided to make the great triple advance (himself taking the centre and coming upon Canada by the chain of the Little Lakes), which was crowned with such success in 1760. It was a very great campaign, ably planned and admirably executed ; no one, before Mr. Fortescue's great work on the Army appeared, had given Amherst his due. The difficulties of transport and commissariat, the difficulty of conciliating the disloyal New Englanders, were immense, and New France had a most able and gallant General until Montcalm's death at the fall of Quebec. ' Amherst was the greatest military administrator produced by England since the death of Marlborough, and remained the greatest until the rise of Wellington ' ; Mr. Fortescue should have added the words ' in the field '.

Amherst received his peerage in 1776, and, though he did not seek active service again, he was military adviser to the Government, and from 1772 Acting-Commander-in-Chief, though his title was only that of ' General-of-the-Staff '. One cannot praise his tenure of the office ; the responsibility for the failure of the American War need not be held



JEFFREY, FIRST BARON AMHERST, K.B.
From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., in the National
Portrait Gallery



SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, K.B.
From the portrait after John Hoppner, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery

to rest with a soldier over whom Germaine ruled at the Horse Guards and whom Sandwich thwarted at the Admiralty ; but the fact that the Army which was called upon to confront the French Republic in 1793, with Amherst in the same position as he had held during the American War, was so hopelessly inadequate to its task, must to some extent lie at his door. The appointment of the Duke of York to succeed him, which was King George's own work, was the first step to a better state of things.

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY

(1734-1801)

General, came of an old Clackmannan family, and was a Dundas by the maternal side. He was at Rugby School and was intended for the legal profession, but joined the Army at the opening of the Seven Years' War and served under Ferdinand of Brunswick, a good master in discipline. After the Peace he was quartered in Ireland for some years, was elected as a Whig for his county, opposed the American War, and voluntarily gave up his seat in Parliament. When the Great War broke out he served throughout the first campaign in Flanders, as a brigadier, and distinguished himself greatly in 1793-4-5, especially by his conduct of the dreadful retreat through Holland, and he there learned how great was the need of discipline both for officers and men. His next service was in the West Indies, 1795-7, the grave of British reputations and soldiers ; and here he began the introduction of seasonable reforms, in order to ameliorate the health of his force. The captures of Saint Lucia and Trinidad in 1796 were his only striking successes, but he was largely responsible for the excellent plan of raising the black ' West-India ' regiments. Called in 1797, in Camden's Lord Lieutenancy, to the chief command in Ireland, he denounced hotly the cruelties exercised by the Militia and the Orange Volunteers on the rebellious and

often innocent Catholic peasantry. In 1799 he commanded the expedition to North Holland, which captured the whole Dutch fleet and was to co-operate with the Russians; but before these allies arrived the Duke of York had superseded him. Abercromby, however, won great glory by the conduct of his column in the attack upon Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1800 he was sent to the Mediterranean to supersede Stuart, who had captured Minorca, but he arrived too late to aid, as the British Government had hoped to aid, the Second Coalition against the French in Italy. After the failure of an attempt upon Cadiz, it was resolved to employ Abercromby's army, 16,000 strong, to finish off the 25,000 veteran Frenchmen whom Bonaparte had left behind him in Egypt. The General started from Malta, and early in 1801 gloriously effected his landing in the teeth of the Frenchmen in Aboukir Bay; after some skirmishes he defeated the enemy with enormous loss, but was mortally wounded in the battle.

Mr. Fortescue has well pointed out Abercromby's supreme merit—his patient acceptance of commands under conditions which he knew were likely to lead to disaster, his constant endeavour to serve his country in wars which he disliked, under Ministers whom he distrusted, and who treated him with scant courtesy; his incessant care for his soldiers, and his great services to discipline. 'There are risks', the General said, 'in a British warfare unknown to any other Army.' He may not have been one of the greatest of British generals, but it must be remembered that Moore and Wellington, Kempt, Hill, and Paget, all served under him, and may be regarded as his pupils; indeed he is rightly to be entitled to the first place as a regenerator of the British Army, which had been steadily deteriorating since the American War, if not since the death of Marlborough.



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